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*The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of their authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.*

## TWO EARLY MESOLITHIC SITES IN THE CENTRAL PENNINES

By P. B. Stonehouse

### *Summary*

This report describes the excavation of two upland broad blade mesolithic occupation sites in the central Pennines. Though within a short distance of each other, the first site (Pule Hill Base) is of Deepcar type, while the other (Turnpike) is of Star Carr type and is close to Warcock Hill South, a site excavated by Francis Buckley in the 1920s, with a similar flint industry. Suggestions are made about the size and shape of the occupation floors, and chronological problems are discussed.

### *Pule Hill Base (SE 03221010)*

This site lies near the highest point of a boggy stretch of moorland separating Pule Hill to the north from the Pennine watershed 1km to the south, at an altitude of 361m O.D. (Fig. 1). It lies on the shales immediately overlying the Upper Kinderscout grit of the Millstone Grit Series of the carboniferous. These shales are part of an escarpment capped by Pule Hill Grit which forms the summit to the north. The ground slopes quite gently northwards from the site for 100m, but then steepens to 1 in 5 to reach the summit.

A severe moorland fire in 1976 destroyed the overlying vegetation and peat in the area. Subsequent erosion revealed large numbers of flints on the plateau immediately south of Pule Hill, including a particularly large concentration which was named Pule Hill Base. Permission to excavate was obtained from the National Trust and started in 1983. The site was so close to a public road that it proved necessary to backfill at the end of each day's work. Motor cyclists made a circuit through the centre of the site, markedly increasing erosion.

### *The Excavation*

A grid in square metres was established and excavation carried out by trowelling. The metre squares were subdivided into quarters and the artifacts assigned to their appropriate quarter square and also grouped into vertical spits of 10cm. Worked pieces recognised at the time of excavation were given a site number and their positions in both plan and section determined to the nearest centimetre.

The upper 5cm of soil, except in the extreme south of the site, which had escaped the fire of 1976, was baked hard and contained flints altered, and in some cases shattered, by heat. Below this appeared a layer of grey clay down to a depth of 10-12cm, followed by orange/yellow clay down to at least 40cm. The flints in these lower levels were in pristine condition and unaffected by fire, except near a 'fire-pit' (see below). Few were found below 20cm, but trowelling was continued down to 25cm and, when flints were still being found, to a deeper level, one flint being excavated at a depth of 38cm from the surface.

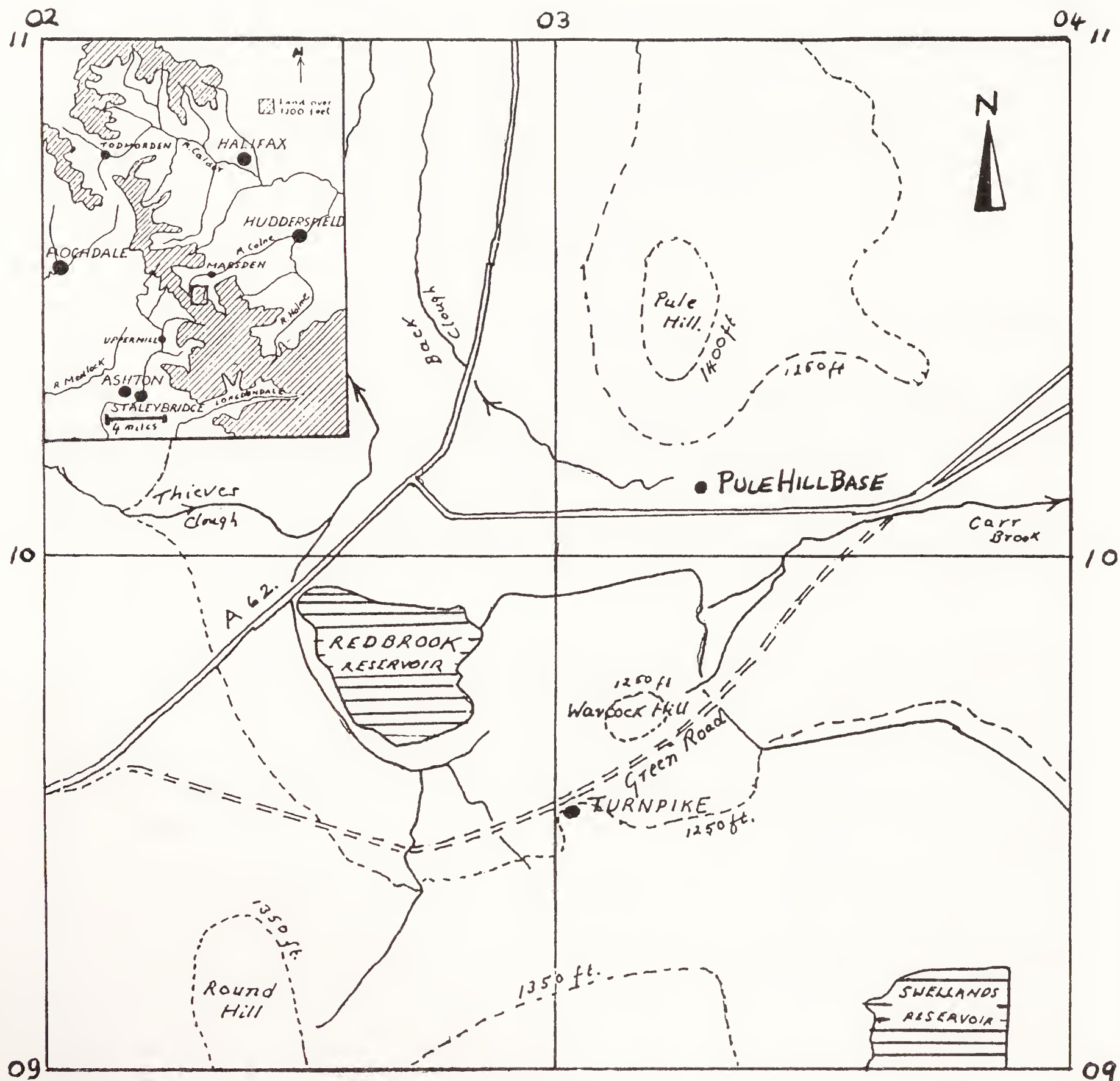


Fig. 1. Map showing location of sites.

Cracks, 3cm wide, filled with humic material, occurred in some areas down to a depth of 25cm and occasionally contained flints, including three 'rod' microliths of Late Mesolithic type. Characteristic of all areas of the site was the appearance below the baked upper 5cm of innumerable rootholes (of reeds?) which usually disappeared at a depth of 25cm but in some cases extended to 35-40cm. In one square (U10) these rootlets did not appear until 20cm depth, possibly as a result of erosion and hill wash. Scattered small stones were found throughout, but without any definite pattern.

Excavation proved time-consuming, one quarter square requiring 3-4 hours from an experienced worker. As the productive area exposed grew in size it was realised that there was no possibility of making a complete excavation, and quarter-metre trial squares were dug (Fig. 2). The result suggested a roughly circular area in which the density of artifacts decreased towards the periphery in all directions, making it possible to construct density contours.

The size of the site, based on the number of squares containing five or more artifacts, was at least 250 square metres. The larger pieces and the scrapers had a

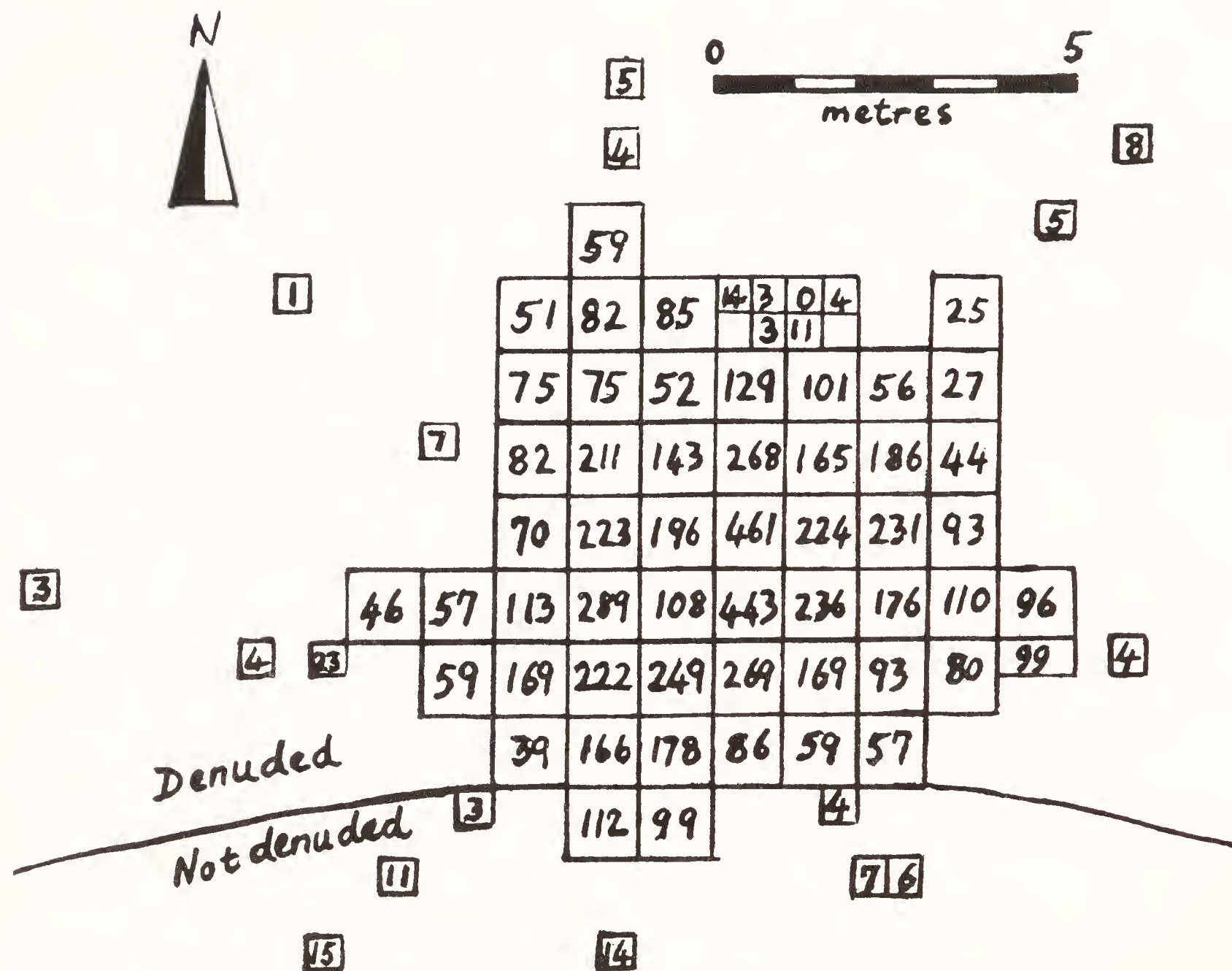


Fig. 2. Pule Hill Base: distribution of finds (nos. per square metre).

somewhat peripheral distribution, and the result of plotting the position of all pieces weighing 7.5gm or more produced a roughly rectangular area of some 40-50 square metres which enclosed the vast majority of microliths and microburins (Fig. 3) If these inconvenient pieces were thrown to the inner edge of a protective barrier or shelter, this central area might correspond to the main occupation floor with subsidiary activities taking place outside.

There were several small circular or oval pits, 20-60cm in diameter, descending to a depth of 25cm. These contained either a fine grey ashy material or grey clay. They are numbered 1-10 on Fig. 4. Feature 9 was 30-40cm in diameter, 23cm deep and saucer-shaped. It contained eight flints, six of which were calcined, and was connected to Feature 8 by an ill-defined channel containing much charcoal. Features 2 and 3, with diameters of 30 and 20cm respectively, contained flecks of charcoal in large amounts down to a depth of 30cm. Microscopic identification of charcoal by Mrs. A. Miles showed that of seventeen samples, seven were *Betula*, five *Quercus* and five probably *Alnus*. Two samples came from the vicinity of a pit, both of which were *Betula*.

A ditch running east-west 18m south of the centre of the site was recut in 1986 and produced 130 flints over a distance of 20m. These consisted of the same grey/white 'Wold' flint which dominated the site. They included two fairly large microliths which would look reasonably at home in an Early Mesolithic assemblage.

*Turnpike (SE 03020950)*

The site, situated south-west of Marsden at a height of 375m above O.D. lies on a

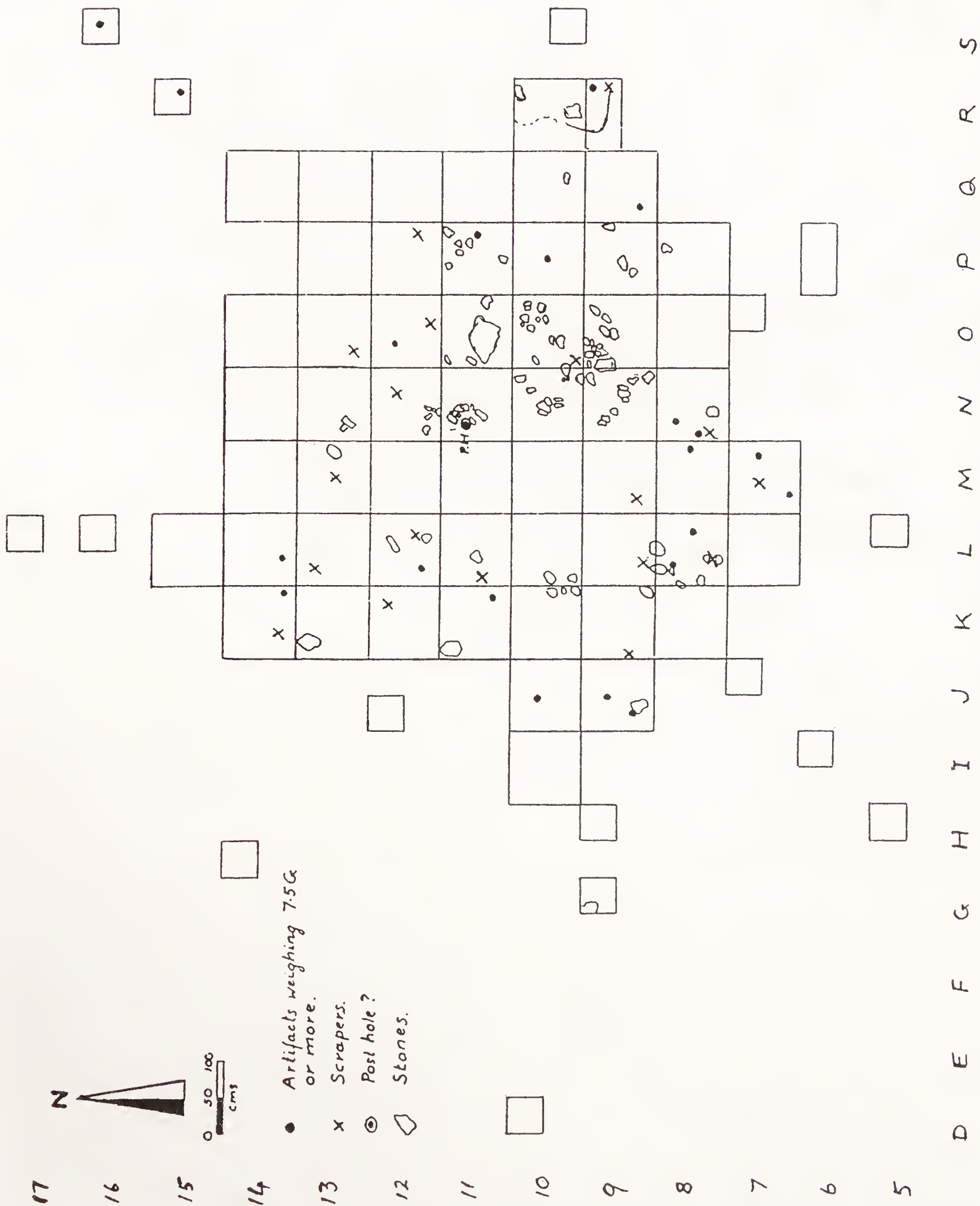


Fig. 3. Pule Hill Base: large pieces and scrapers.

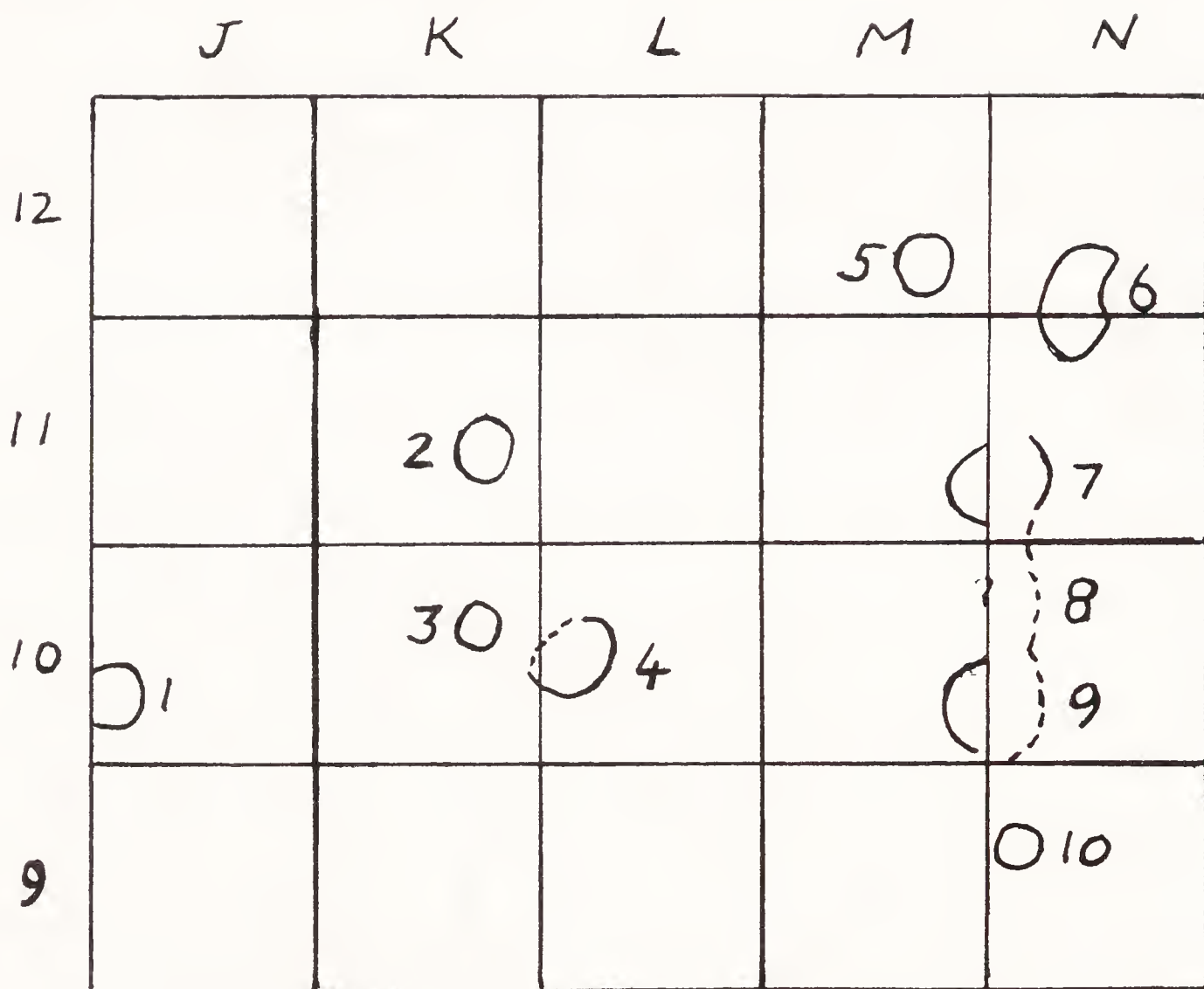


Fig. 4. Pule Hill Base: hollows and pits.

ridge which runs northward from the Pennine watershed 600m to the south (Fig. 1).

The ridge has a cutting through it running south-west – north-east, 20m wide and 27m from crest to crest, made to ease the gradient of the second Wakefield to Austerlands Turnpike road, completed in 1815 and since abandoned (Crump 1949), now a 'green' road. The site lies immediately to the south of this cutting, its northern edge overlooking the steep slope. Its position is almost identical with that of Buckley's Warcock Hill South site, described by Petch as 'on a small round hillock south of the green road' (Petch 1924), and it also agrees closely with the position of a broad blade site shown on the map illustrating Buckley's sites in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield. It was therefore at first assumed that this was indeed Warcock Hill South site rediscovered, but for reasons explained below the new site was renamed Turnpike.

#### *The Excavation*

Excavation started in 1973 following the finding of a few flints in a small erosion patch. A grid was established in square yards, the peat was removed by spade down to within 2.5cm of the underlying soil, and the lowest part of the peat and the soil were then trowelled by hand. Each artifact was numbered and its position in plan plotted to the nearest centimetre; in most cases its depth was also recorded. The excavation was continued until the peripheral squares contained only one flint or none. The results are

shown in Figs 5 and 6 and suggest a single occupation. The shape of the occupation floor appeared at first to be an oval with its long axis running from north-east to south-west. It was noted that cores were usually peripheral and when their position was plotted, together with that of all artifacts weighing more than 7.5gm, a rectangular shape was produced (Fig. 6).

It was soon realised that some parts of the site had been disturbed by previous digging (Fig. 5). Roger Jacobi drew my attention to notes made by Francis Buckley in the Tolson Memorial Museum under the heading 'Warcock Hill South Site', dated 30th April 1948 and therefore made at least 24 years after his original excavation, in which

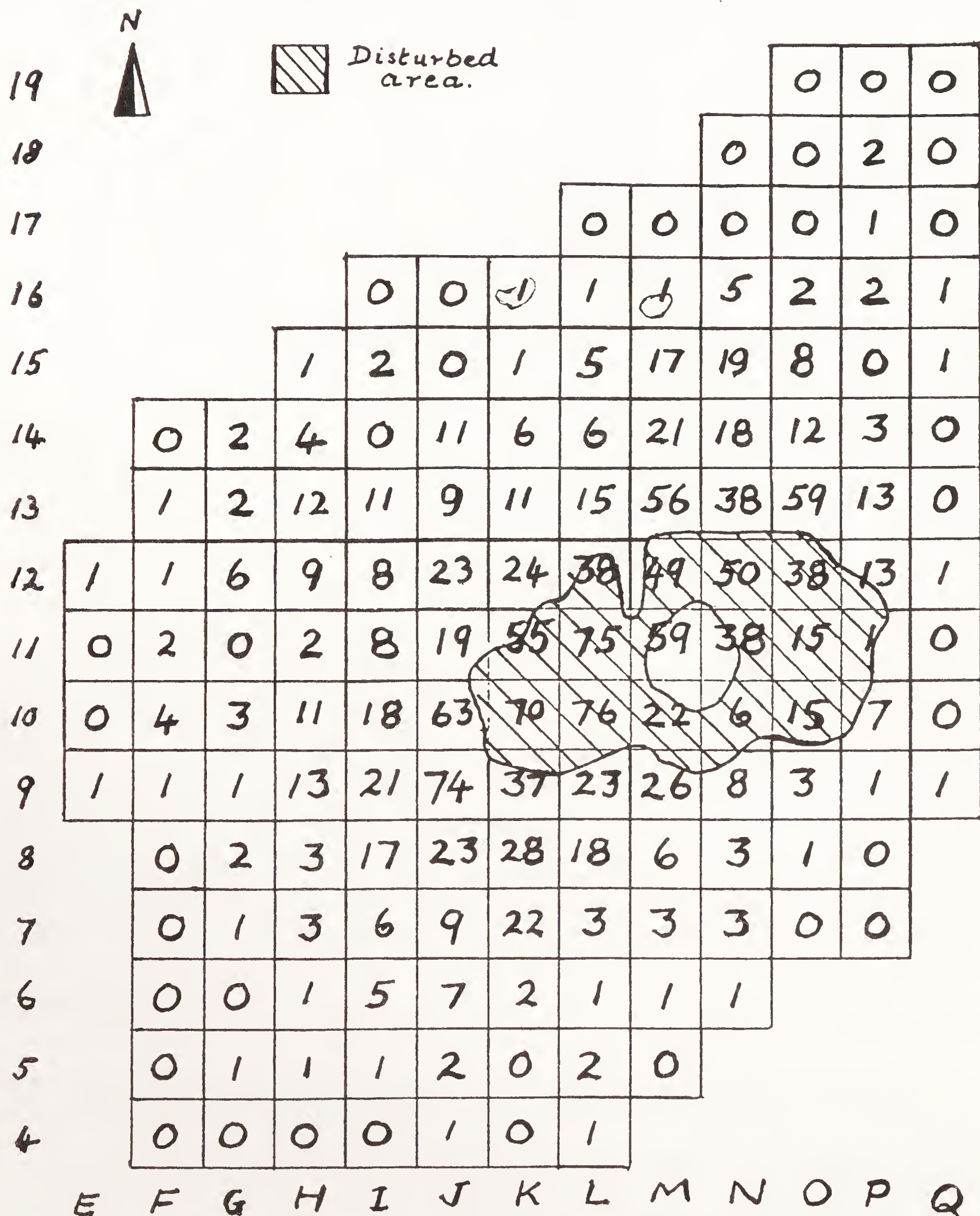


Fig. 5. Turnpike: distribution of finds (nos. per square yard).

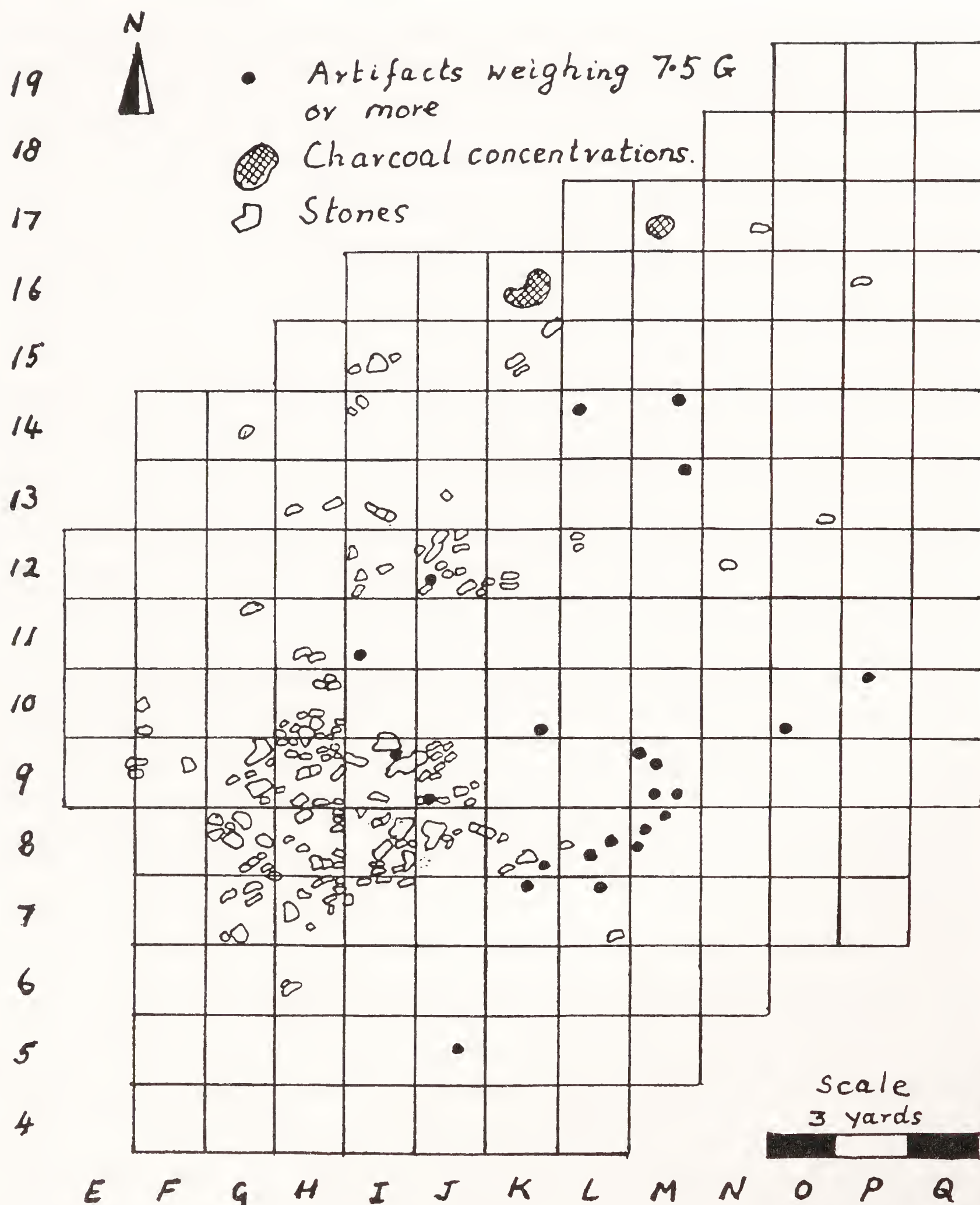


Fig. 6. Turnpike: large pieces.

he writes that he continued his excavation 'northwards i.e. towards the Old Coach Road'. It seems probable therefore that the disturbance noted was made by Buckley himself and that Turnpike lay near, but to the north of the Warcock Hill South site. There is a roughly rectangular area of about 80 square metres which has lost its peat cover and whose northern edge lies 15m to the south of Turnpike. This denuded area has produced a few flints of indeterminate character and probably indicates the position of Buckley's site.

Peat cover on the Turnpike site varied in depth from 41.5 to 7.5cm or less. The lower 2.5 - 7.5cm of peat was consistently darker than the more fibrous peat above and

frequently contained in its lowest centimetre pieces of charcoal up to 0.6cm long. The leached component of the soil varied in thickness from 12.5 to 5cm but below this was pan, usually well formed but weak or even absent in a few places. The distinction between the leached upper soil and the iron-enriched layer below was always obvious.

Little in the way of definite features was recognised. There was a very doubtful post-hole 16cm in diameter and 15cm deep in square N11 and a scatter of stones at the south-west end of the occupation floor, which ended on the side nearest the centre of the site in a straight line 1.8 - 2.1m long, corresponding fairly well with the south-west edge of the rectangle formed by plotting the position of the heavier pieces (Fig. 6). A concentration of fire-cracked flints in the same area might possibly represent the position of a hearth.

Charcoal was present in the soil in almost every square and a subjective assessment of the amount was attempted, but no significant pattern emerged, apart from two concentrations just outside and to the north of the main occupation area (Fig. 6). In one of these, in K16, the charcoal was contained within an irregular kidney-shaped space, 45 by 25cm. In the other (L17), 2m distant, a smaller concentration was found within a circle 25cm in diameter. The pan below this area formed a basin 5cm deep which corresponded accurately with the area of charcoal above. The possibility of this being some form of 'fire pit' was considered. Charcoal from sixteen squares was sent for macroscopic examination. In ten examples *Quercus* was identified, in four *Betula*, and in one both oak and birch occurred.

Pollen analysis carried out by R. Louise Brown suggested that the site was 'both post-Corylus rise and post-Alnus rise' and that 'it could not be said with any degree of certainty whether it was post-Elm decline' (Brown 1982). A further pollen study was carried out in 1982 by Professor J. Schoenwetter, who found high *Alnus* levels and up to 71 percent of this tree pollen in one of the occupation level samples. He concluded that the 'Marsden-Saddleworth Mesolithic sites most likely "pollen-date" is in the 4000-3500 B.C. interval' (personal communication). These findings are at variance with the generally accepted view that broad blade industries belong to the Early mesolithic.

### *The flint industries*

The flints at both sites varied in appearance, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Flint type

	Pule Hill Base		Turnpike		WHS	WHN	L2&3	WH
	Nos	%	Nos	%	%	%	%	%
White opaque flint	6992	94.0	70	4.2	1	96.5	94	94
Brown translucent flint	335	4.5	1255	77.2	85	2.0	5	2
Grey translucent flint			50	3.1				
Black chert	52	0.7	168	10.2	5	1.0	1	1
Fire-cracked			75	4.6				
Other	60	0.8	11	0.7				
Totals	7439	100	1629	100			100	100

KEY: WHS: Warcock Hill South; WHN: Warcock Hill North; L2&3: Lominot 2 and 3; WH: Windy Hill.

The Pule Hill Base site produced 7439 excavated flints and cherts, plus 2027 pieces collected from the surface, the high proportion of the latter reflecting the rapid rate of erosion during the five years of excavation. The dominant raw material was an opaque white flint (Table 1). Among pieces classified as 'other' were a number of thin, rather dark pieces identified by Dr. I.M. Simpson (formerly Senior Lecturer in Geology, Manchester University) as 'silicified limestone ... most probably from the peak District'. One piece, blue in colour reminded him 'of material ... at the top of the Lower Carboniferous on Halkyn Mountain, ... south ... of the Dee estuary' in Clwyd. Some 30-40 pieces of the same material have been found near the cairn on Rocher Moss, 1km to the south.

Selected implements and other worked pieces are illustrated (Figs 7, 8) and their numbers listed in Table 2, together with those from other comparative sites. The statistics for Pule Hill Base included surface finds. The 52 obliquely blunted points from that site included 14 whose tips were broken. More than half the rest had opposed retouch, particularly noticeable in the 17 blunted on the right-hand side, 13 of which had opposed retouch. This agrees with the findings from Deepcar, where 4 of the 5 blunted on the right-hand side had opposed retouch, but only 3 of the 23 blunted on the left-hand side (Radley and Mellars 1964). Points blunted down the whole of one side numbered 7 and there were two large isosceles triangles.

Microliths typical of the Later Mesolithic also occurred at Pule Hill Base, including 13 'rods', three of which were excavated from the broad cracks in the clay. Nine of these were made from translucent brown flint, two with a slightly orange tint contrasting markedly with the white flint of the bulk of the tools. However, two were of white flint, one of a dull grey flint, and one of black chert. The four small triangles differed in shape and material: one was made of very light coloured translucent brown flint; the others were of dark grey flint, white flint and rather coarse biscuit coloured chert.

Non-microlithic forms included 22 scrapers (Fig. 8), 9 saws and one awl, but no definite burins. The three barbed and tanged arrowheads were all found either on the surface or within the topmost 5cm and included a fine Conygar type, a Sutton Type b with its point missing and a Serrated Sutton Type a (Green 1980). By-products from the site included 11 cores, four of black shiny chert, and 28 microburins, of which 24 were notched on the left-hand side. Two possible axe-sharpening flakes were present.

The commonest material on the Turnpike site was a good quality translucent brown flint, probably from the glacial drift of the east coast; a tenth was shiny black chert, probably from Derbyshire (Radley 1968). White flint with grey inclusions originating in the Wolds, and grey flint were also present in small quantities. Some of the flint nodules were rounded, having a cortex, and appeared to have been beach pebbles. There was one piece of fine-grained stratified soft sandstone, 38mm long, of a type not found locally, which had rounded edges and appeared to have been used for polishing or rubbing. Two pieces of brilliantly coloured red ochre were found within the mineral soil, 325mm apart.

At the Turnpike site none of the obliquely blunted points had retouch on the leading edge and the four truncated blades included both straight-ended and oblique forms (Fig. 8). The two *mèches de forêt* are similar to those from Warcock Hill South and others at Star Carr. Microburins numbered 24, of which 12 had their notch on the left side and 10 on the right. The distribution of both microliths and microburins was quite random (Fig. 5). They were all of brown translucent flint except for three microliths of black chert and three microburins of white flint. The 12 cores did not have a random distribution and only four of them were of brown translucent flint.

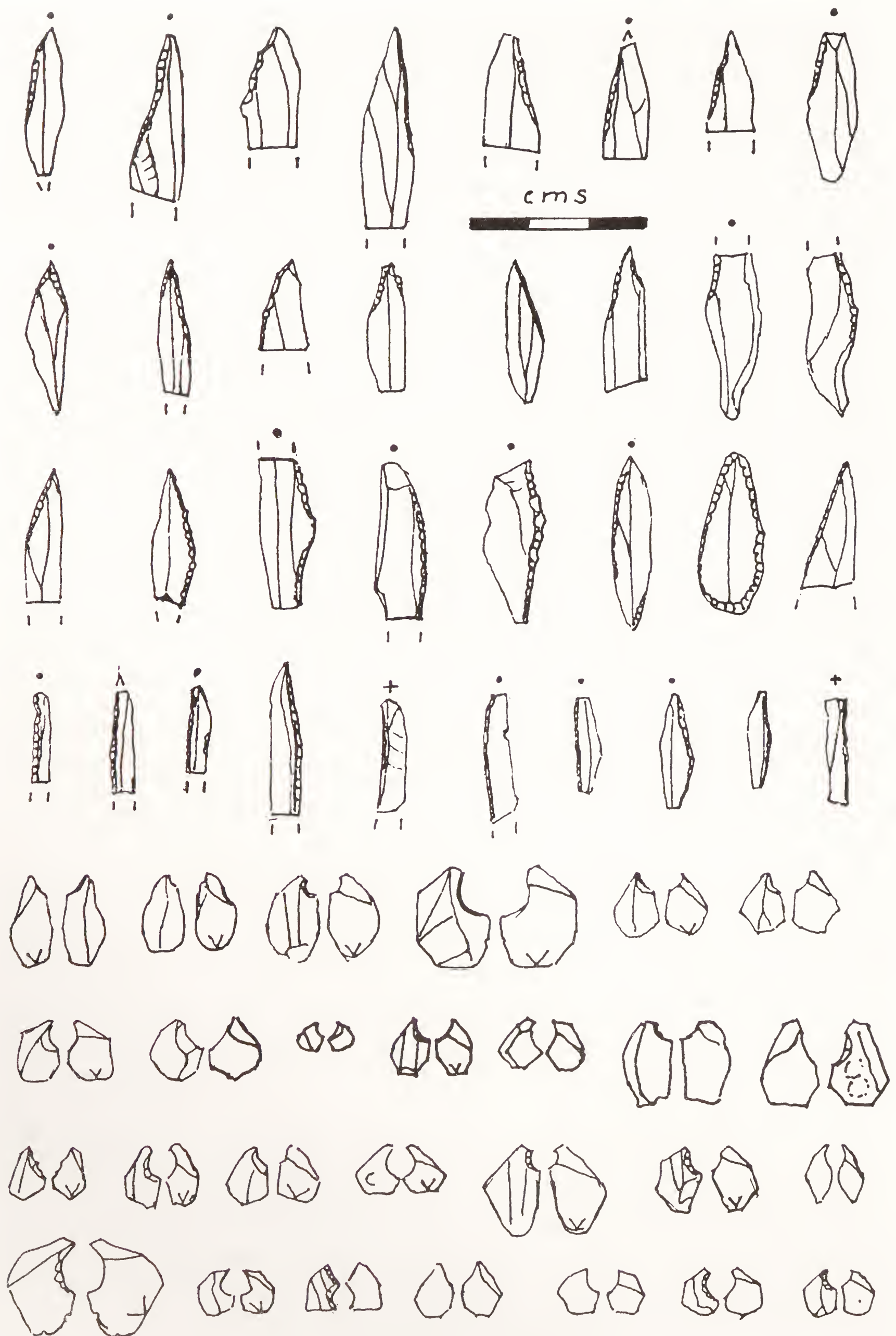


Fig. 7. Pule Hill Base: selected microliths.

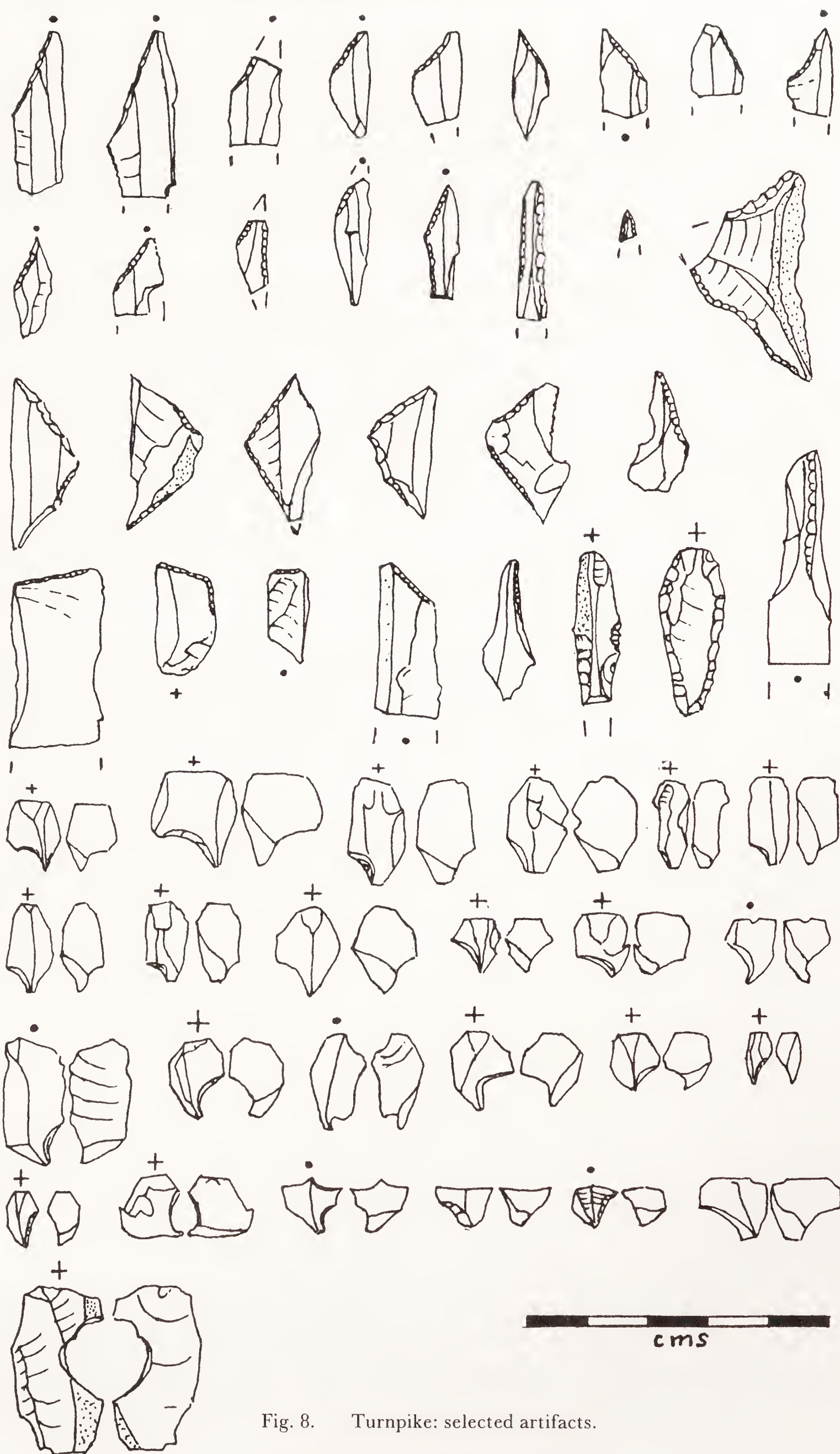


Fig. 8. Turnpike: selected artifacts.

### Discussion

In spite of its very large size, estimated as at least 250 square metres, contour densities of the artifacts at the Pule Hill Base site suggested that there had only been one period of occupation during the Early Mesolithic, though late microliths and arrowheads were present. There was, however, a concentration of material some 20m to the south-south-west of the centre of the site, shown by the 130 flints found in the road-side ditch, which might have been a second site with a similar industry destroyed when the road was made.

The large number of artifacts found (9500) may be misleading, as many of the flints in the upper 5cm had been splintered by the moorland fires of 1976. Nevertheless, the figure is in rough agreement with the 5241 from Pule Hill North (Buckley 1924), 5305 from White Hassocks I, 4108 from White Hassocks II (Stephen Poole: personal communication) and 5400 from Windy Hill (Radley and Mellars 1964); it is certainly much greater than the figures from any Late Mesolithic site in the neighbourhood.

The plotting of the larger artifacts (weighing 7.5gm or more) at both sites showed that these were distributed peripherally, leaving a central area which contained the majority of microliths and microburins. The patterning at both sites suggested a rectangular shape. The presence of 'rods' and microtriangles at Pule Hill Base suggests reoccupation in the Late Mesolithic, and it is noticeable that only three of these implements were made of white flint and that three of the 'rods' were found in the infill of large cracks in the clay.

The small pits at Pule Hill Base are difficult to understand. Similar pits are described at Peacock's Farm, Cambridgeshire, by Whittle (Smith *et al.* 1989) and also at Site K on Seamer Moor (Schadla-Hall 1987). Whittle suggested that the simplest explanation of those at Peacock's Farm is that they were hearths, but some are remarkably small - only 30cm or so in diameter. They are of uncertain date, but probably prehistoric.

A number of upland Early Mesolithic sites occur in pairs, as Turnpike and Warcock Hill South (Buckley 1924), only 20m apart. Waystone Hassocks Sites I and II, both Early sites of Deepcar type form another pair 6m to the north-west of Pule Hill Base (Littleborough Arch. Soc., 1976. Report 2), while in North East Yorkshire the sites Pointed Stone II and III (Jacobi 1978) are only 20m apart. The almost identical flint assemblages at Turnpike and Warcock Hill South could represent successive or contemporary occupations by the same group. At both sites the dominant microlith is the obliquely blunted point without opposed retouch; large points with secondary working all down one edge are absent; both have *mèches de forêt* and at both translucent flint of various colours was used as the major raw material. In all these respects they resemble Star Carr and differ from the more abundant Pennine Broad Blade sites, such as Deepcar, where the dominant raw material is an opaque white / grey flint with cherty inclusions, where obliquely blunted points often had opposed retouch, and where points blunted all down one edge do occur but *mèches de forêt* are absent (Radley and Mellars 1964). One difference is that at Turnpike ten per cent of the raw material consists of shiny black (Derbyshire ?) chert, whereas Buckley states that there was no chert at Warcock Hill South (Buckley 1924).

The large number of microliths and microburins at both sites suggests that the main activity was hunting and that preparation of hunting equipment took place on site. Roger Jacobi considered that the paucity of scrapers and burins at upland sites suggests that their occupation took place earlier in the year before the skins reached their optimum condition in autumn (Jacobi 1978). However, Warcock Hill South produced no less than 11 scrapers, and they are also recorded in fair numbers at three

Table II. Flint artifacts							
	WHS	WHN	L2	L3	WH	PHB	T
<i>Microliths</i>							
Obliquely blunted points Left-hand side blunted	10	8	4	6	5	12	12
Ditto, with opposed retouch at tip	0	3	1	1	1	9	
Ditto, tip broken	1	5	1	2	0	10	
Obliquely blunted points Right-hand side blunted	7	1	1	8	5	4	
Ditto, with opposed retouch at tip	0	2	0	4	1	13	
Ditto, tip broken	1	2	1	1	1	4	
Points blunted all down one edge	0	16	0	4	6	7	
Points blunted down whole of right-hand side with opposed retouch at tip	0	3	0	1	0	0	
Fragmentary	0	7	1	3	8	22	1
Large isosceles triangles	1	1	0	2	1	0	7
Points blunted at both extremities of one edge	0	2	0	0	0	0	
Trapezes (large)	1	0	0	0	0	1	
Narrow rod-like forms	0	0	0	1	3	13	1
Small crescents and triangles	0	10	1	1	2	4	2
TOTALS	21	60	10	34	33	99	23
<i>Scrapers</i>							
Scrapers	12	32	7	24	24	22	5
Burins	1	5	2	0	8	0	0
Small truncated blades	0	4	2	3	3	1	2
Large truncated blades	2	0	1	0	0	0	2
Large backed blades	0	2	0	0	3	0	0
Saws	0	2	0	0	0	9	2
Elongated steeply worked awls (mèches de forêt)	2	0	0	0	0	1	2
<i>By-products</i>							
Total flakes and spalls	650	9000			5400	7440	1629
Cores	9	20	20		18	11	12
Microburins	9	22	18		23	4	24
Key: WHS: Warcock Hill South; WHN: Warcock Hill North; L2: Lominot 2; L3: Lominot 3; WH: Windy Hill; PHB: Pule Hill Base; T: Turnpike.							
Note. The authenticity of the Turnpike figures is uncertain as the site had previously been disturbed at its centre.							

other upland Broad Blade sites excavated by Buckley in the Marsden to Saddleworth and Littleborough area, namely at Lominot 2 and 3, Windy Hill 5, and Warcock Hill North, with 31, 24 and 32 scrapers respectively. Paul Mellars includes these sites, together with Warcock Hill South, in his 'Type B' or 'Balanced' group, which suggests an emphasis on hunting activities, but also on a variety of more "domestically" orientated tasks' (Mellars 1976). At least three other upland Broad Blade sites in this part of the South Pennines have been found to have scrapers in abundance: Pike Low Site 1 with 29 (Radley and Mellars 1965), Waystone Edge Hassocks Site 1 with 14 (unpublished) and Pule Hill Base with 21. Perhaps these upland sites with more scrapers were occupied later in the year.

Dating is difficult. Star Carr itself is considered to date to the Pre-boreal or Early-boreal, with two carbon 14 dates obtained from the birch of the wooden platform of  $7607 \pm 210$  b.c. (Q.14) and  $7538 \pm 350$  b.c. (C 353). These findings are in agreement with the pollen studies carried out by Godwin (Clark 1954) and more recently (Cloutman and Smith 1988). A carbon 14 date of  $7260 \pm 360$  b.c. (Q 1185) comes from Warcock Hill South, based on curated charcoal, but obviously a single date with considerable standard deviation on curated charcoal can hardly be regarded as reliable evidence. The dating of Turnpike itself to the Pre-boreal or Early-boreal is based on the similarity of its flint typology to that of Star Carr, but the two pollen studies carried out by Louise Brown and Professor Schoenwetter are completely at variance with this dating, suggesting that occupation took place in Atlantic times (post-*Alnus* rise) or even later. Obviously further studies are needed. Pule Hill Base was evidently frequented by hunters in the Late Mesolithic and Bronze Age times. This is a frequent occurrence on Mesolithic sites in northern England and possibly indicates a persistence of the early mesolithic hunting pattern into later periods.

The site area of Turnpike can be determined with greater certainty than at most upland sites because the excavation was extended to the outer edge of the occupation floor. A figure of 53 square metres was obtained by excluding all squares with fewer than 4 artifacts to the square yard (the nearest equivalent to the limit of 5 flints to the square metre adopted by Jacobi when assessing Pointed Stone II and III, two Broad Blade sites on the North York Moors). These sites had areas of 28 and 39 square metres respectively, figures appreciably higher than those from the majority of upland Narrow Blade sites. The rectangular area produced by plotting the positions of the heavier pieces is 26 square metres, but even this is much greater than the areas of most upland Narrow Blade sites. The finding of two concentrations of charcoal outside the area of flint deposition was interesting and suggests that the excavation of such sites should be extended beyond the limits of the occupation floor.

### *Acknowledgements*

The author wishes to thank Roger Jacobi for his advice and encouragement, Louise Brown and Professor Schoenwetter for the pollen analyses, and the National Trust for permission to excavate at Pule Hill Base. Thanks are also given to those members of the Saddleworth Historical Society who assisted in the excavation of these exposed sites, often under adverse conditions, including the late Bernard Barnes, Jim Carr, the late Mrs. Edith Krank, David Lomax, Alex Schofield, Ursilla Spence, together with Stephen Poole and Ken Teale of Mithrow. Mr. John Shaw of Marsden gave his collection of flints from the ditch at Pule Hill Base and the late Mr. Barnes also presented his collection of surface finds.

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## EARLY IRON AGE POTTERY FROM CASTLE HILL, ALMONDBURY, WEST YORKSHIRE.

By J. A. Gilks

The earthworks which encircle Castle Hill, Almondbury (Nat. Grid Ref. SE 152141), represent the remains of one of Yorkshire's largest early iron age hill-forts (Pl. 1). It was excavated by the late Professor W. J. Varley of Hull University over six seasons' between 1939 and 1972. The excavations centred around sectioning the ramparts at various points and in the limited examination of the gateways and interior of the fort. Unfortunately Varley's death in 1976 spelt the end of the Castle Hill project, which was never published in detail. However, from the one expanded summary report, and a number of interims, he wrote on work undertaken at Castle Hill (Varley, n.d.; 1939; 1969; 1973; 1976, 119-31), the incomplete site archive preserved in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, and a series of radiocarbon and thermoluminescence dates (see Appendix), an acceptable chronology for the construction and development of this important hill-fort has been established (Varley, 1976: 121-30; Gilks, n.d.).

Of the prehistoric artefacts recovered, undoubtedly the most important are three groups of sherds, one from the 1939 excavations, the other two deriving from work undertaken between 1969 and 1972, on respectively sites 4, and 32 and 35. The pottery from the last two mentioned form the subject of the present report, that from site 4, which includes a *salt pot* and two *lids*, will be discussed in a broader study currently being undertaken on these ceramic types.

### *Pottery from Site 32*

Limited area excavation in the lee of the rampart at the north-eastern end of the hill revealed a number of medieval features. Of these two small rock-cut pits produced respectively, sherds of 12th to 13th century pottery and two coins (a penny of Henry II, c. 1180, and a farthing of Henry III, c. 1248-50), and pottery of similar date and residual sherds of prehistoric pottery (Fig. 1, 1, 3, 6 and 7). No other evidence of prehistoric occupation was recorded from this area.

### *Pottery from Site 35*

The excavation of a trench across the inner rampart, ditch and outer bank at the south-western end of the hill, revealed part of the complex history of rampart construction and rebuilding (Varley, 1976: 121-5, Fig. 4). Abutting an original land surface, containing earlier mesolithic flints, was a *neolithic floor*, radiocarbon dated at adjacent site 40 to  $2110 \pm 130$  bc (HAR-182). On this surface rested the footings of the rampart of the first hill fort, a univallate enclosure, which was subsequently heightened by the addition of inner and outer stone revetments with a shale and clay core. Contained in the core were a number of charred timbers, one of which provided two radiocarbon dates (see below). In the lee of the inner revetment, and abutting it,

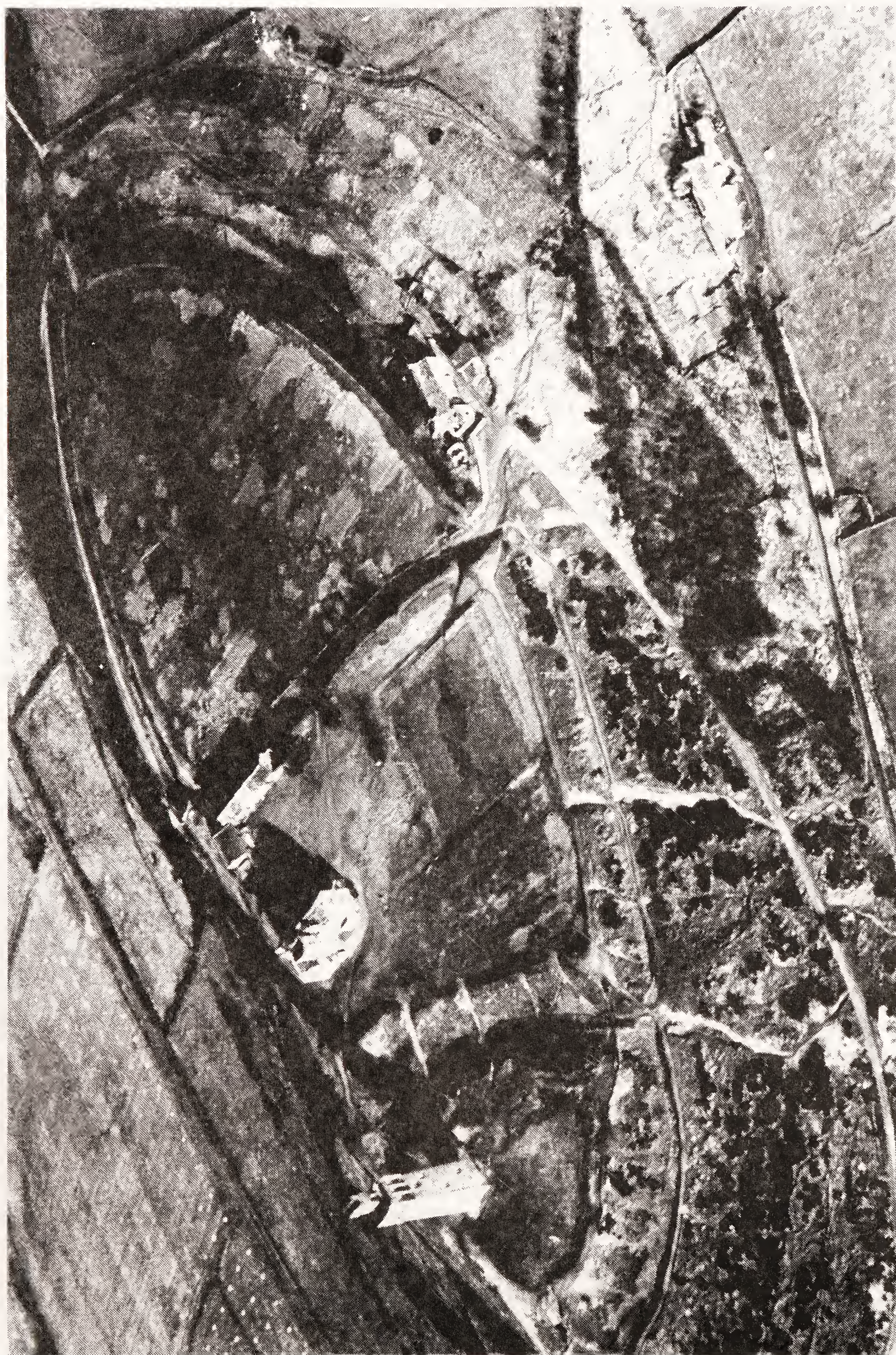


Plate 1. Aerial view, taken in November, 1937, of Castle Hill, Almondbury: looking north-east. Copyright: Wood Visual Communications, Bradford.

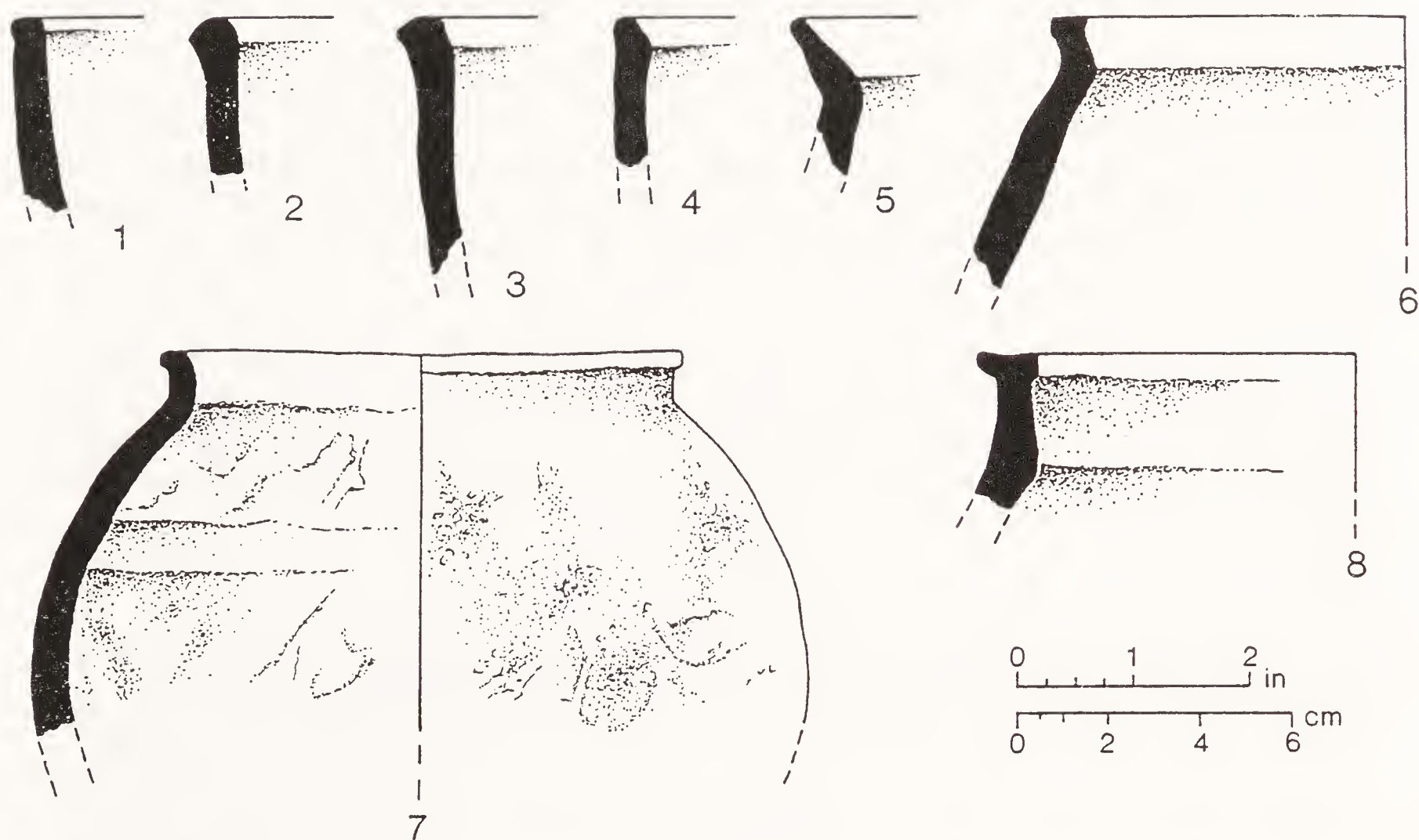


Fig. 1. Early iron age pottery from Castle Hill, Almondbury. 1, 3, 6 and 7, site 32; 2, 4 and 8, site 35, and 5, site 32 or 35. Scale 1:2.

was a raised clay floor on the surface of which was a hearth with charcoal and sherds of prehistoric pottery (Fig. 1, 2, 4 and 8).

#### *Pottery from Site 32 or 35*

A single fragment of pottery preserved in the collection is either from site 32 or 35 (Fig. 1, 5).

#### COMMENT

The pottery recovered from sites 32 and 35 consists of eleven sherds, seven from site 32, three from site 35 and one from site 32 or 35, representing eight vessels. Of these a small well-made narrow-mouthed globular jar in a fine grey fabric (Fig. 1, 7) stands alone, the remainder comprise straight-sided jars and narrow-mouthed globular jars in a hard brown, grey or black fabric, profusely tempered with calcite, calcite and chalk and, in one instance, calcite, crushed shell and chalk (Fig. 1, 4). The inner and outer surfaces of all vessels have been smoothed. The forms will be considered separately.

#### *Straight-Sided Jars*

Four straight-sided jars are represented, two from each site (Fig. 1, 1-4), with rim diameters ranging from 120 mm (no. 4) to 240-250 mm (no. 3). Rims are rounded, with a discontinuous external groove to produce a bead (no. 1), externally pointed (no. 2), externally thickened with a shallow internal bevel (no. 3), and rounded with a steep internal bevel (no. 4).

### *Globular Jars*

Three globular jars have been identified, one from each site (Fig. 1, 6 and 8), whilst the last (no. 5) is either from site 32 or 35. All were narrow-mouthed, 180 mm (no. 5) to 280 mm (no. 8) in diameter, with flared (no. 5), flat-topped, internally and externally thickened and with a shallow internal bevel (no. 6), and flat-topped, internally and externally expanded to produce a T-section (no. 8), rims.

### *Fine Ware Jar*

In marked contrast to the coarse straight sided and globular vessels, is a small well-made globular jar of fine fabric, with a narrow mouth, 120 mm in diameter, a shallow upright neck and a flat-topped and externally thickened rim from site 32 (Fig. 1, 7).

### *Dating*

The dating of the pottery recovered from sites 32 and 35 rests on a series of radiocarbon determinations obtained from charcoal found mainly in the ramparts. The earliest date produced,  $590 \pm 95$  bc (I-5931), was obtained from possibly re-deposited charred wood from the core of the rampart of the univallate hill-fort at site 35, though it should be noted that part of the same sample, processed by a different laboratory, yielded the slightly later date of  $520 \pm 130$  bc (HAR-84). Be this as it may, they are, firstly, sufficiently close to suggest that the univallate hill-fort was constructed during the 6th century bc, and, secondly, they provide a *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the pottery at site 35.

Further pointers as to the date of the pottery are provided by dates obtained for subsequent developments at Castle Hill. The enlargement of the univallate hill-fort, by the addition of a rampart and ditch around the north-eastern end of the hill, can be confidently dated to the late 6th or early 5th centuries bc, whilst the final development, which involved widening and raising the innermost rampart (almost throughout its length it consisted of two parallel stone revetments with horizontal timber-lacing, infilled with shale and clay), the digging of a further ditch beyond the first and the construction of a series of banks around the lower slopes of the hill, to the mid-5th century bc. After the end of the 4th century bc there is no evidence for the occupation of the hill-fort until the weathered earthworks were incorporated in the defences of a 12th century castle and settlement.

Overall the picture painted by the archaeological evidence and the radiocarbon dates is one of intensive hill-fort construction and modification at Castle Hill between the 6th and 5th centuries bc. Further, the pottery recovered from site 35 and that from the fill of a medieval rubbish pit on site 32, which is identical in every respect, is certainly contemporary with one or other of the main phases of hill-fort construction and occupation, but precisely which cannot, unfortunately, be determined.

### *Comparative Material*

The pottery recovered through the excavations undertaken at Castle Hill constitutes the largest collection of early iron age pottery recovered from a site of the period in the Pennine uplands of West Yorkshire. Moreover it can be viewed as a development of a ceramic tradition, the origins of which can be traced back to the earlier part of the first millennium bc (Barrett, 1979: 44, 46-7; Gerrish, 1983: 43-6; Challis and Harding, 1975: 11-14, 30-39), and one which is typified by pottery recovered from, for example, the

hill-fort of Mam Tor in Derbyshire (Coombs and Thompson, 1979: 30-41, Figs. 16-27). Subsequent developments show refinements in form, though fabrics still tended to be coarse and many vessels were crudely potted. Straight-sided, barrel and globular jars, and occasionally fine ware jars, produced in a range of sizes, predominate, whilst decoration was restrained and almost exclusively confined to finger tipping on the rim and scoring on the body, both of which are present on vessels in the large assemblage of early iron age pottery from Willington in Derbyshire (Elsden, 1979: 162-78). Elsewhere pottery of early iron age date has been recovered from a number of open settlements and caves in the Peak District, some of which appears to be broadly contemporary with that from Castle Hill (Hart, 1981: 77, 81).

Turning to the ceramic evidence from West Yorkshire, the only other finds of iron age pottery comprise an almost complete vessel from Ledston and sherds from Dalton Parlours (Keighley, 1981: 131). Unfortunately, none of the ditched enclosures excavated to the west and north of Huddersfield, which are widely held to be iron age, have produced any pottery, though the incomplete nature of the excavations on such sites is perhaps a major contributory factor to its absence and / or recovery. Be this as it may, sufficient has been found to provide some clue as to the type of pottery in use in the Pennine uplands during the second half of the first millennium bc, though clearly a considerable amount of research is required before a detailed statement can be made.

## CATALOGUE

### *Introductory Note*

The pottery, which is in the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, is described according to the methods set out in the *Pottery Archive Users Handbook* (1984), published by the Department of Urban Archaeology in the Museum of London.

- Fig. 1.
- 1 Two conjoining rim sherds in a hard fabric, black (2.5YR N 2.5/0) throughout. Rough, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, fine to very coarse (up to 4.5 mm), ill-assorted, rounded to sub-angular, calcite. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 32*
  - 2 Rim sherd in a hard fabric, very dark grey (2.5YR N3/0) outer surface, light brownish grey (10YR 6/2) inner surface, grey (7.5YR N5/0) core. Rough, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, fine to very coarse (up to 5 mm), ill-assorted, sub-rounded to sub-angular, calcite. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 35*
  - 3 Large rim sherd in a hard fabric, dark grey (10YR 4/1), very dark grey (10YR 3/1) to reddish brown (5YR 5/4) outer surface, greyish brown (10YR 5/2) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6) inner surface, grey (2.5Y N 5/0) core. Rough, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, fine to very coarse (up to 7 mm), ill-assorted, sub-rounded to sub-angular, calcite. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 32*
  - 4 Rim sherd in a soft fabric, very dark grey (10YR 3/1) to dark greyish brown (10YR 4/2) outer surface, very dark greyish brown (10YR 3/2) to very dark grey (10YR 3/1) inner surface, black (2.5YR N 2.5/) core. Smooth, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, fine to very coarse (up to 5 mm), ill-assorted, sub-rounded to sub-angular, calcite; moderate, coarse to very coarse, crushed shell, and sparse, coarse to very coarse, ill-assorted, sub-rounded, chalk. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 35*

- 5 Rim sherd in a hard fabric, very dark grey (10YR 3/1) outer surface, black (2.5YR N 2.5/) core. Harsh, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, very coarse (up to 8.5 mm), ill-assorted, sub-rounded to angular, calcite. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 32 or 35*
- 6 Large rim sherd in a hard to very hard fabric, dark grey (10YR 4/1) to very dark grey (10YR 3/1) outer surface, very dark grey (10YR 3/1) inner surface, grey (10YR 5/1) core. Rough, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, fine to very coarse (up to 11.2 mm), ill-assorted, sub-rounded to sub-angular, calcite. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 32*
- 7 Three conjoining sherds in a hard fabric, very dark grey (7.5YR N 3/1) outer surface, grey (5Y 6/1) inner surface, dark grey (2.5Y N 4/) core. Rough, irregular in fracture, tempered with sparse, very fine to fine, ill-assorted, rounded, calcite. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 32*
- 8 Rim sherd in a soft fabric, dark grey (10YR 4/1) outer and inner surfaces, yellowish brown (10YR 5/4) outer and inner margins, grey (10YR 5/1) core. Rough, irregular in fracture, tempered with abundant, medium to very coarse, sub-rounded to sub-angular, calcite, and moderate, very coarse (up to 7 mm), sub-rounded, chalk. Smoothed surfaces.  
*Site 35*

#### APPENDIX RADIOCARBON AND THERMOLUMINESCENCE DATES

The radiocarbon dates published by Varley (1976: 127, table 2) were cited incorrectly and are here presented according to the determinations published in *Radiocarbon* 14 (1972), 132 and *Radiocarbon* 16 (1974), 181. The thermoluminescence dates were kindly supplied by Miss Joan Huxtable of the TL dating laboratory in the University of Oxford.

Neolithic occupation (Site 40)	2110 ± 130 bc (HAR-182)
Univallate enclosure	not dated
Univallate hill-fort (Site 35)	590 ± 95 bc (I-5931) 520 ± 130 bc (HAR-84)
Bivallate hill-fort (Site 28) (Site 40)	555 ± 100 bc (I-4542) 530 ± 110 bc (HAR-183)
Multivallate hill-fort (Site 30)	460 ± 110 bc (HAR-83) 450 ± 110 bc (HAR-135)
Burning (Site 31)	690 ± 300 bc (OXTL 134b4) 430 ± 200 bc (OXTL 134a7)

Note: I-5931 was part of sample dated as HAR-84 and HAR-135 was part of sample dated as HAR-83.

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## AN ANGLIAN SITE ON THE YORKSHIRE WOLDS - CONTINUED

By David Haldenby

*Introduction*

The metal detector survey of this notable mid-Saxon site, first featured in the 1990 volume of this Journal,<sup>1</sup> continued throughout 1990 and the latest finds, principally made during that year, form the basis of the present article, along with some comment on their distribution and wider significance. The find rate has now diminished to approximately one artefact per six hours detecting.

As previously reported, the site lies on arable land on the Yorkshire Wolds in the parish of Cottam and Cowlam, the exact location being withheld as a contribution to the site's protection. Further complementary fieldwalking is still proposed and must await suitable field conditions, essentially a similar degree of surface weathering to that when the first phase of this work was undertaken.

## FIND DISTRIBUTION AND DATING

Two main concentrations of finds have now become apparent, referred to hereafter as A and B (Fig. 1) and these can be seen to be roughly coterminous with two concentrations of crop marks observed from the air.

To date around 30 simple pins have emerged, most spread randomly across the site, except for the disc-headed type with ring dots, the four examples of which lie within concentration B. This type may in fact be contemporaneous with the larger, more elaborate pin (Fig. 2, 2) which is similarly shaped and decorated with ring dots and would seem to be later than its eighth-century gilt chip-carved cousins. Interestingly, the four iron pins were found close to the centre of concentration A, but this may well reflect retrieval methods rather than loss pattern.

Little is known of the precise dating of these mid-Saxon pin types, although if any conclusion can be drawn from the grouping of our four disc-headed examples it is that they may be later, by virtue of their association with other late material in find area B.

A pattern does emerge with the elaborate pins and the chip-carved pendant, seven out of eight of these occurring in find area A with the remaining example lying between this and area B. Since if gilt chip-carving tails off in popularity towards the end of the eighth century, as is believed by Wilson,<sup>2</sup> this would suggest that the site's beginnings may have centred on the southern concentration.

If, as I have previously argued,<sup>3</sup> the site's demise occurred not long after 867, then as the 26 strap-ends found represent most of the known groups of middle Saxon strap-ends this provides valuable confirmation that the series in question had fully developed by the end of the ninth century, as most commentators assume. This series is generally felt to have developed during the course of that century, with certain groups very likely being early, such as those showing careful animal head modelling of the terminal, and

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1. Haldenby, D. N., 'An Anglian Site on the Yorkshire Wolds', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (1990), pp. 51-63.
  2. Wilson, D. M., *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700-1100 in the British Museum* (London 1964) pp.9-21
  3. Haldenby, *op.cit.* in n. 1, p.62.

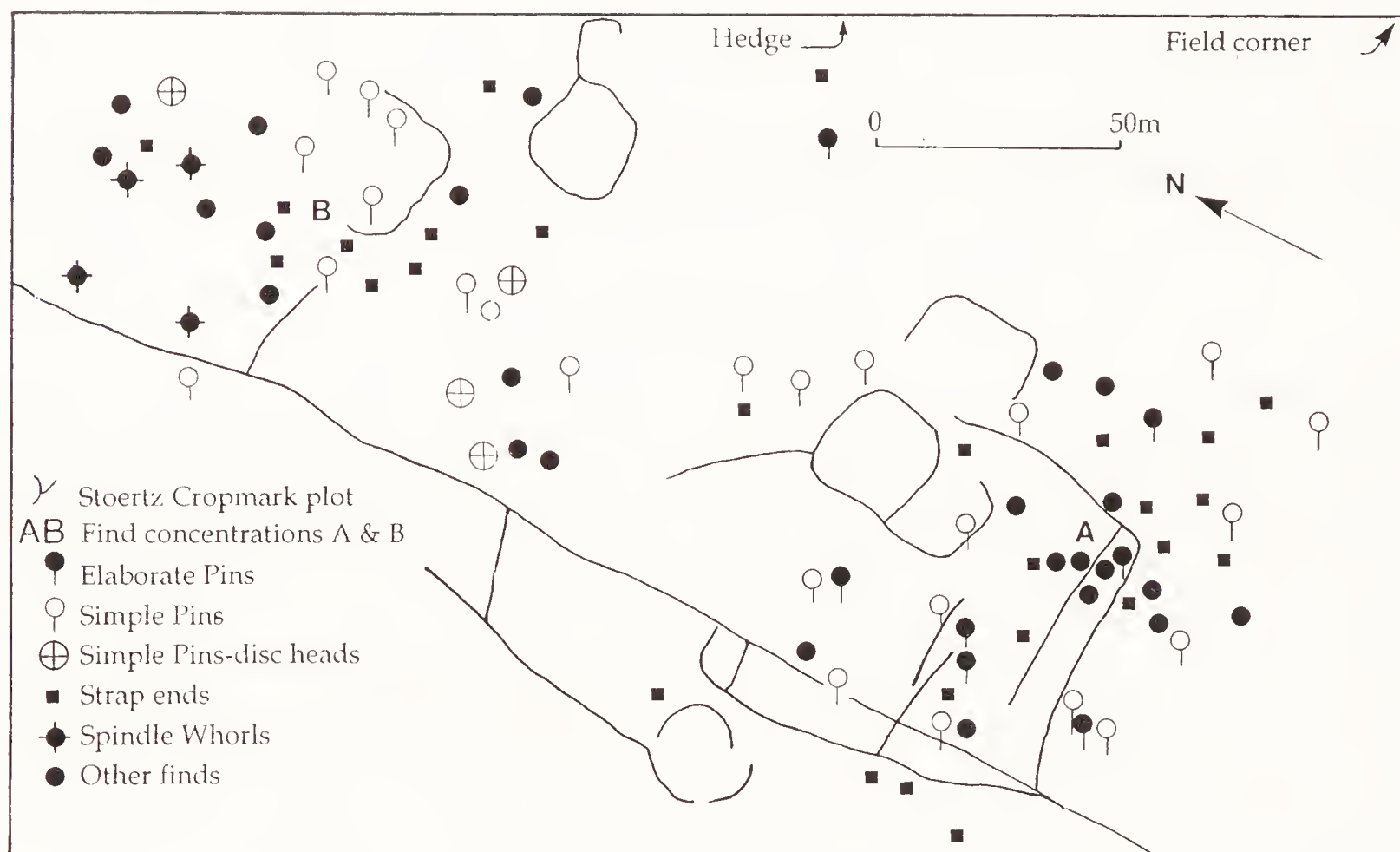


Fig. 1. Plan of site, showing distribution of finds.

others, where the modelling is crude or non-existent, being late. Across the site no concentration of examples from particular groups or, more broadly speaking, of early or late types, is apparent, suggesting use of the whole site throughout the duration of the strap-end series. If, as argued below, the elaborate pin (Fig. 2, 1) predates the ninth century, then this strongly suggests that certain early, and very likely prototype strap-ends, similar to those already documented from this site<sup>4</sup> and others largely from the North, as Bamburgh<sup>5</sup> and Goathland<sup>6</sup>, where the strap-end terminals also have scroll or comma-shaped ears with a wedge between, likewise originated in the eighth century.

The eight lead spindle whorls, most of which are rather crude, irregular and undecorated, were found within area B.

The large number of iron knife blades (around 40 to date) found across the site is unparalleled. The majority are complete and the fact that they are so widely spread argues against their constituting a hoard, perhaps of unhafted blades, and for their having been in use, their wooden handles having rotted away, as apparently all other wood on the site did. Were bone or antler to have been used for the handles then this would undoubtedly have survived in some cases, as with the scatters of bone fragments, no doubt associated with the Saxon settlement and, more tellingly, the survival of the antler and bone comb (Fig. 7, 2).

Perhaps the most telling piece of evidence for the knives having actually been in use is the large number of worn sandstone hones found on the site. Moreover, were it not for the relative abundance of honestones on this site, the survival of such a large number of knives could simply be the result of favourable survival conditions and not a reflection of the number actually in use. The knives must have had quite a high

4. Haldenby, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 57, fig. 4, nos. 1 and 16.

5. Unpublished – information provided by Ms. S. Youngs, British Museum.

6. Watkin, J. and Mann, F., 'Some Late Saxon Finds from Lilla Howe, N. Yorks., and their context', *Medieval Archaeology* 25 (1981), p. 155, fig. 4, no. 3.

intrinsic value and so such a large number surely do not represent cumulative individual losses but more likely indicate upheaval or a sudden abandonment of the site, as postulated in the earlier article.

Fourteen further ninth-century stycas have been found, widely spread, of Eanred and Aethelred II of Northumbria and of Archbishop Wigmund of York. The discovery of a Primary sceatta of c. 690-725 and two of the secondary series together with the growing number of recognisably eighth-century artefacts suggests that the site was in use throughout most of the eighth century, as well as a large part of the ninth century.

Nineteen Roman coins have also been recovered, widely spread and mostly of the late third to mid-fourth century, a date range quite consistent with that for the rather low density pottery spread, which Didsbury considered could have resulted from manuring with midden deposits.<sup>7</sup>

It may be that a final phase of occupation centred on find area B, where undisputably later objects, such as the Jellinge-style brooch and Norse bell, were found.

## CATALOGUE OF FINDS

### *Simple Pins - Copper Alloy (Fig. 2).*

These have been divided into six groups according to pin head form. Most are collared and only Group 5 is a type new to the site.

#### *Group 1. Equal Sized Facets with Ring Dots.*

Pin 27mm long (Fig. 2. No. 3) with facettted head and ring dot on each of the four principal faces. Similar pins were found at Whitby.<sup>8</sup>

Pin 66mm long (No. 4) with head as above and shaft broken.

Pin 40mm long (No. 5) with head as above.

Pin 53mm long (No. 6) of fine quality and complete albeit bent, seemingly in antiquity, perhaps for functional purposes. Head is as above and shaft is decorated by a finely incised groove spiralling along a portion of its length.

#### *Group 2. Facettted with no Ring Dots.*

Pin 16mm long (No. 7) with only the stub of the shaft remaining. Similar pins were found at Whitby.<sup>9</sup>

#### *Group 3. Two Principal Facets bearing Ring Dots.*

Pin 50mm long (No. 8) with facettted head somewhat flattened and four ring dots in each of the larger faces. Similar pins come from York<sup>10</sup> and elsewhere.

Pin 31mm long (No. 9) as above but with only three ring dots per face.

#### *Group 4. Globular with Ring Dots.*

Pin 32mm long (No. 10) with flattened top to globular head and four ring dots. A similar pin was found at York.<sup>11</sup>

Pin 30mm long (No. 11) as above but with eight ring dots. Close parallels come from York.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Group 5. Biconical with no Ring Dots.*

Pin 12mm long (No. 12) with only the stub of the shaft remaining and a biconical head. A similar pin came from Whitby.<sup>13</sup>

7. Didsbury, P., 'Fieldwork in Cottam and Cowlam Parish', *Y.A.J.* 62 (1990), p. 66.

8. Peers, C. and Radford, C. A. R., 'The Saxon Monastery at Whitby', *Archaeologia* 89 (1943), p. 63, fig. 14.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 63, fig. 14.

10. Waterman, D. M., 'Late Saxon, Viking and Early Medieval Finds from York', *Archaeologia* 97 (1959), p. 78, fig. 11, no. 12.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 78, fig. 11, no. 11.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 78, fig. 11, nos. 5 and 10.

13. Peers and Radford, *op.cit.* in n. 8, p. 61, fig. 13, no. 3.

*Group 6. Disc with Ring Dots.*

Pin 16mm long (No. 13) with only the disc head surviving and five ring dots on one of the faces. Good parallels come from Whitby<sup>14</sup> and York.<sup>15</sup>

*Simple Pins - Iron (Fig. 2. Nos. 14-16).*

The good state of preservation of the four examples recovered allows us to see that their general form mirrors that of their copper alloy counterparts: faceted, globular and biconical types can be discerned; three show the usual collar and ring dot decoration may lie beneath the rust.

*Elaborate Pins.*

Pin 18mm across (Fig. 2. No. 1), consisting of a fragment of gilt copper alloy chip-carved pin head pierced by two copper alloy rivets which seemingly once attached a replacement shaft, the original probably having been cast in one piece with the head, but now broken away. Decoration takes the form of an animal head with one eye remaining and scrolled ears with inverted triangle between, all very reminiscent of animal heads on the Strickland brooch, said by Wilson to be of ninth-century date.<sup>16</sup> However, as mentioned above, Wilson points out that generally gilt chip carving predates the ninth century,<sup>17</sup> seeming to place our specimen in the eighth century, along with the other four examples of the same type from the site, described in the first article.

Finally, remnants of chip-carved interlace can be seen to the left of the animal head.

Pin 22mm high (No. 2), comprising most of a racket-shaped pin head made of thin copper alloy sheet decorated, on one face only, by numerous ring dots, some forming a border with one row running horizontally and another vertically to form a central cross. As with three of the elaborate pins described in the first article<sup>18</sup> and others found elsewhere, the central cross represented on each is clearly related to the early stone crosses of the period which similarly frequently have expanding or scalloped arms, with a central boss. The choice of a Christian symbol in an evangelical age need not suggest that we are dealing with other than a secular settlement, but stronger ecclesiastical connections must remain a possibility. The same tendency to translate the artwork of standing stone crosses into jewellery continued well into the Viking period and can often be seen in the manufacture of tenth-century disc brooches (e.g. Fig. 4. No. 9).

Between one horizontal arm of the pin and the border is a small perforation which, as with examples described in the first article, was probably made to accommodate a chain to link other pins in a suite or possibly to attach a safety chain. No close parallel seems to exist, this example being a hybrid between the above mentioned disc-headed examples (Fig. 2. No. 13), which have fewer ring dots and are smaller, and the elaborate gilt chip-carved type of a similar size such as that just described (Fig. 2. No. 1) and those mentioned in the first article.<sup>19</sup>

*Strap-ends (all of copper alloy).**Animal Mask Type.*

40mm long (Fig. 3. No. 1) complete with only one rivet which survives. Animal mask

14. Ibid., fig. 13, nos. 7 and 7a.

15. Waterman, *op. cit.* in n. 10, p. 78, fig. 11, nos. 1-3.

16. Wilson, *op. cit.* in n. 2, p. 211.

17. Ibid., pp. 9-21.

18. Haldenby, *op. cit.* in n. 1, pp. 51-53.

19. Ibid.

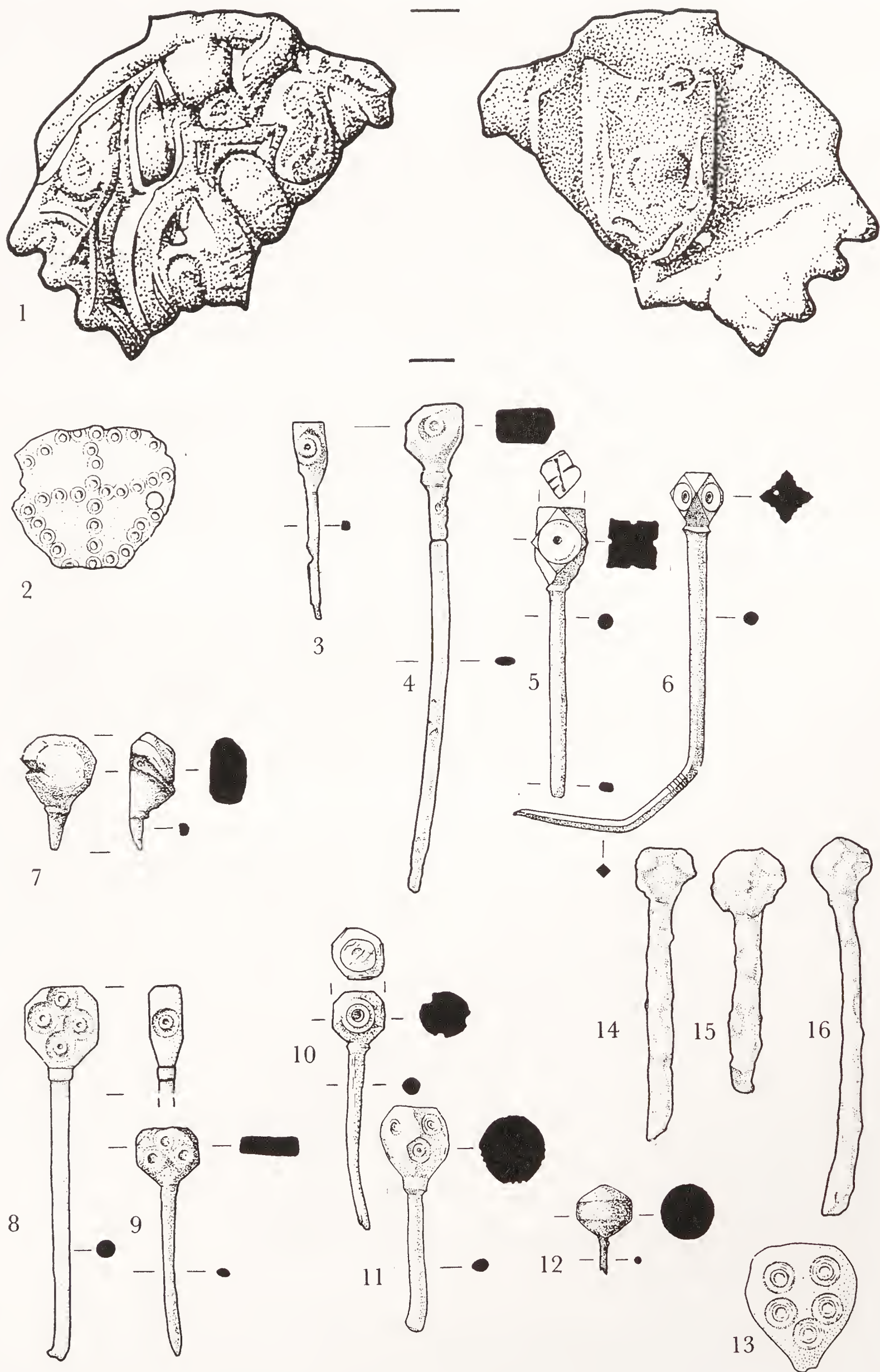


Fig. 2. The Pins. Scale 1:1, except No. 1, 3:1.

modelling at the terminal is repeated twice more up to the butt end as with another close parallel from the site.<sup>20</sup> The group is quite distinctive with seven or eight other examples known, including three from this parish alone. The majority are from the East Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>21</sup>

*Longitudinal Panels with Inlaid Scrolls / Coils.*

57mm long (Fig. 3. No. 2), intact apart from a break at one of the rivet holes. A group of symmetrically arranged incised arcs create a variant on the usual theme of acanthus leaf decoration at the butt end. Abundant use of incised arcs is also seen at the terminal end, where they represent the ears or mane of a modelled animal head, the features of which are indistinct, perhaps through wear. Chalky inlay is present on the animal's forehead and two longitudinal panels of the same inlay are positioned around an incised median line. The inlay is pitted and may have held wire as with an example already documented from this site,<sup>22</sup> and several others from elsewhere, one notable concentration of such finds centering on East Anglia.<sup>23</sup>

54mm long (No. 3), whole except that both rivet holes are broken through. The strap-end is as the last except for more abstract arrangement of arcs at the butt end, well formed ears and the forehead is cross-hatched with incised lines.

13mm long (No. 4), fragmentary and corroded, the only details being broken rivet holes and two traces of inlay, possibly from panels as with the above.

*Cross-Hatched Type.*

32mm long (No. 5). Probably two-thirds of the main field survive, along with the terminal which is lightly modelled into an animal head, incised arcs representing the ears. The main field is decorated by a series of parallel straight lines running obliquely. The closest relatives would seem to be those strap-ends where two lots of parallel lines intersect at right angles, giving a diamond lattice effect. This type is numerous and rather widespread with one find concentration centering on the Humber.<sup>24</sup>

*Geometric Design.*

50mm long (No. 6), complete with much silvering remaining. Encrusted corrosion from a remaining iron rivet obscures any design at the butt end. Terminal decoration is on a zoomorphic theme with vaguely defined snout and forehead, and incised arcs intended to accentuate this modelling. The upper portion of the main field is blank with a series of either parallel or intersecting incised arcs occupying the lower field. Very similar configurations are seen on around twenty ninth-century strap-ends, such as at Whitby<sup>25</sup> and Great Wakering, Essex.<sup>26</sup> The type is widely spread.<sup>27</sup>

30mm long (No. 7), broken with butt end missing. Terminal is very narrow with transverse grooves. Decoration of the main field consists of two rows of incised and touching circles positioned about a median incised line running longitudinally. The circles appear to have been formed by the opposing of punched arcs, in which case the type probably developed from a type found at Whitby,<sup>28</sup> which has arcs that remain separate and a similarly formed terminal.

20. Ibid., p. 56, no. 7.

21. Haldenby, D. N., 'A Study of Ninth Century Strap-ends', forthcoming.

22. Haldenby, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 57, no. 11.

23. Haldenby, *op. cit.* in n. 21.

24. Ibid.

25. Peers and Radford, *op. cit.* in n. 8, p. 57, fig. 11, nos. 11 and 13.

26. Wilson, *op. cit.* in n. 2, p. 135, no. 21.

27. Haldenby, *op. cit.* in n. 21.

28. Peers and Radford, *op. cit.* in n. 8, p. 57, fig. 11, no. 8.

*Worn Example.*

29mm long (No. 8), almost complete but badly corroded with no detail remaining.

*Tenth-century Strap-end.*

40mm long (Fig. 3. No. 9), complete and much broader than the strap-ends described above, but still with just two rivets, unlike most of these later forms which often have three or four. Two rows of ring dots are separated by a central groove, flanked by two ridges, running from the straight butt edge to the terminal, where it occupies a slight protrusion, a feature common to many tenth-century strap-ends. Unlike the narrower forms above, a split at the butt end was not the means of attachment, which was by three or four rivets piercing a thickening at the butt. Decoration here is closely paralleled by that on each arm of a Viking-age trefoil brooch from Birka.<sup>29</sup>

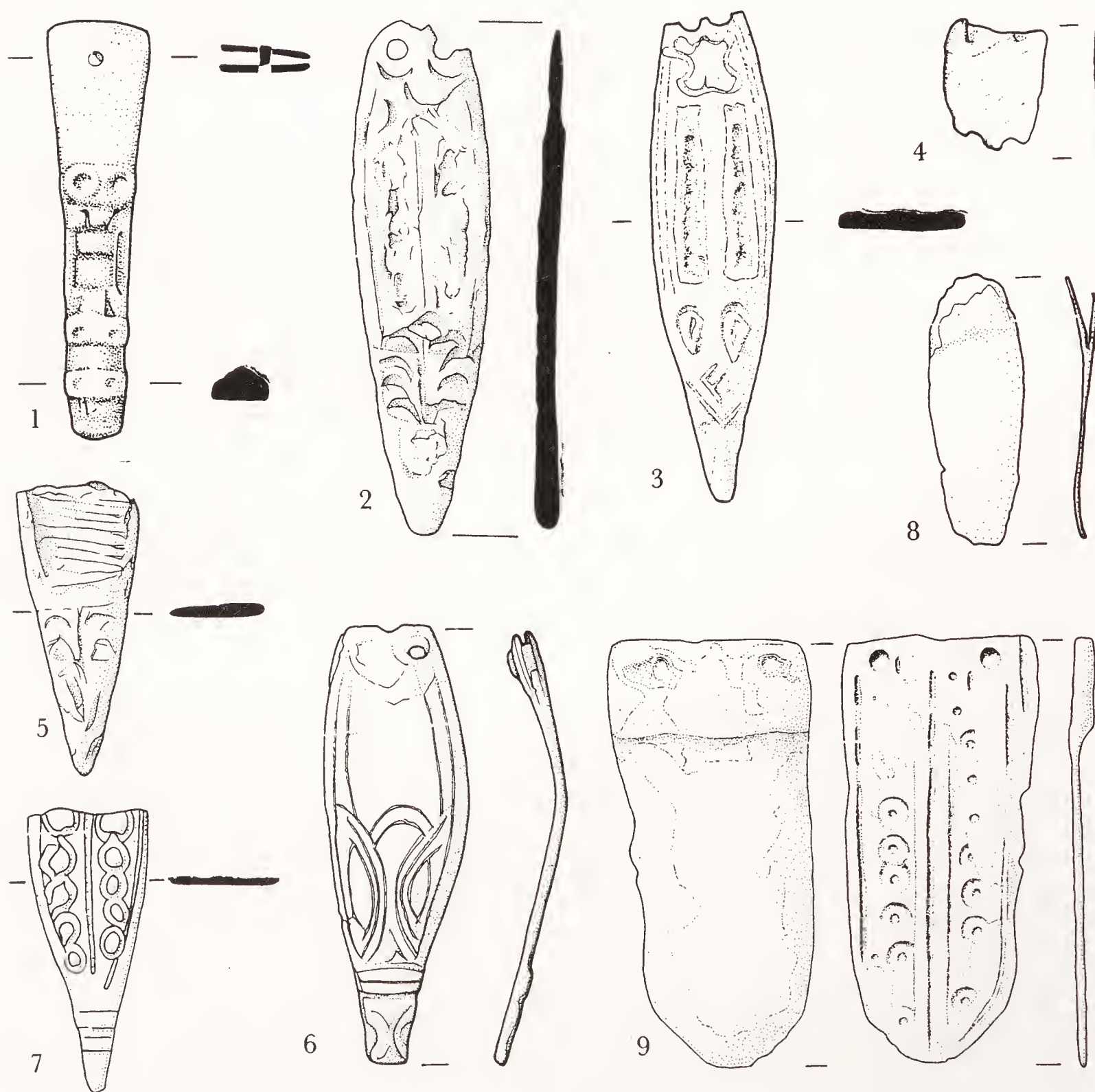


Fig. 3. Strap-ends. Scale 1:1.

29. Brent, P., *The Viking Saga* (London 1975), p. 151.

*Plain Disc Brooch* (Fig. 4 No.8).

44mm diameter, of copper alloy and complete, albeit in three pieces, found separately. The brooch is slightly dished and plain with remains of hinge and catch plate attached to the concave surface.

*Penannular Brooch* (Fig. 4. No. 6).

47mm diameter, of copper alloy with somewhat more than half remaining, including one simply sculpted and possibly zoomorphic terminal with indented banding behind. The brooch probably dates from the sixth century, one similar example coming from Norfolk.<sup>30</sup>

*Caterpillar Brooch* (Fig. 4. No. 4).

39mm long, of copper alloy with only two-thirds of the bow remaining and no pin, found approximately 150m north of concentration B. A similar example, albeit with less well developed trefoil terminals, comes from Bawsey, Norfolk, and is considered to be eighth or ninth-century.<sup>31</sup>

*Pendant / Mount* (Fig. 4 No. 7).

29mm tall, of copper alloy and roughly triangular. At the top is the remnant of either a suspension loop or attachment hole and the adjacent sides are slightly concave with narrow and regular punched borders. The third side is roughly hacked right up to and contrasting with the high quality gilt chip carving which occupies most of the surface. It would seem that a larger piece of ornate metalwork was cannibalised to produce in part this 'pendant', and the large book mounts from Whitby spring to mind,<sup>32</sup> in which case the broken hole would once have taken a rivet. The gilt bronze chip carving with punched borders is closely paralleled by several other pieces from the site, in particular one of the cruciform disc-headed pins.<sup>33</sup>

*Disc Brooch* (Fig. 4. No. 9).

40mm diameter, of lead alloy and flat with cruciform motif and pellets and the remains of hinge and catch plate to the rear. Found approximately 200m north-east of concentration B. A very close parallel was found at York.<sup>34</sup>

*Buckles* (Fig. 5).

18mm across (No. 1), of high quality copper alloy, roughly square and with silver inlay seemingly attempting to portray beasts. The buckle tongue survives and is carefully fashioned with scalloping and a flattened end. No close parallel would seem to exist, but similar buckles from Meols have been dated to the mid to late Saxon period.<sup>35</sup> A buckle from Royston Heath has Trewhiddle Style leaf ornament and is dated to the ninth century,<sup>36</sup> as no doubt is our buckle, along with our ninth-century strap-ends, one of which may well have been used in conjunction with it.

30. Hattatt, R., *Iron Age and Roman Brooches* (Oxford 1985), p. 187, fig. 75, no. 656.

31. Blackburn, M., and Margeson, S., and Rogerson, A., in *Anglo-Saxon Productive Sites*, editors Mark Blackburn and Michael Metcalf. 'A Productive Middle and Late Saxon Site at Bawsey, Norfolk', BAR (forthcoming).

32. Wilson, *op. cit.* in n. 2, p. 192, nos. 105-7.

33. Haldenby, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 52, fig. 1, no. 1 (where illustration erroneously inverted).

34. Waterman, *op. cit.* in n. 10, p. 77, fig. 10, no. 7.

35. Bu'lock, J. D., 'The Celtic, Saxon and Scandinavian Settlement at Meols in Wirral', *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 112 (1960), p. 22, fig. 7b.

36. *Victoria County History, Cambridgeshire* Vol. 1 (London 1938), p. 322, no. 8.

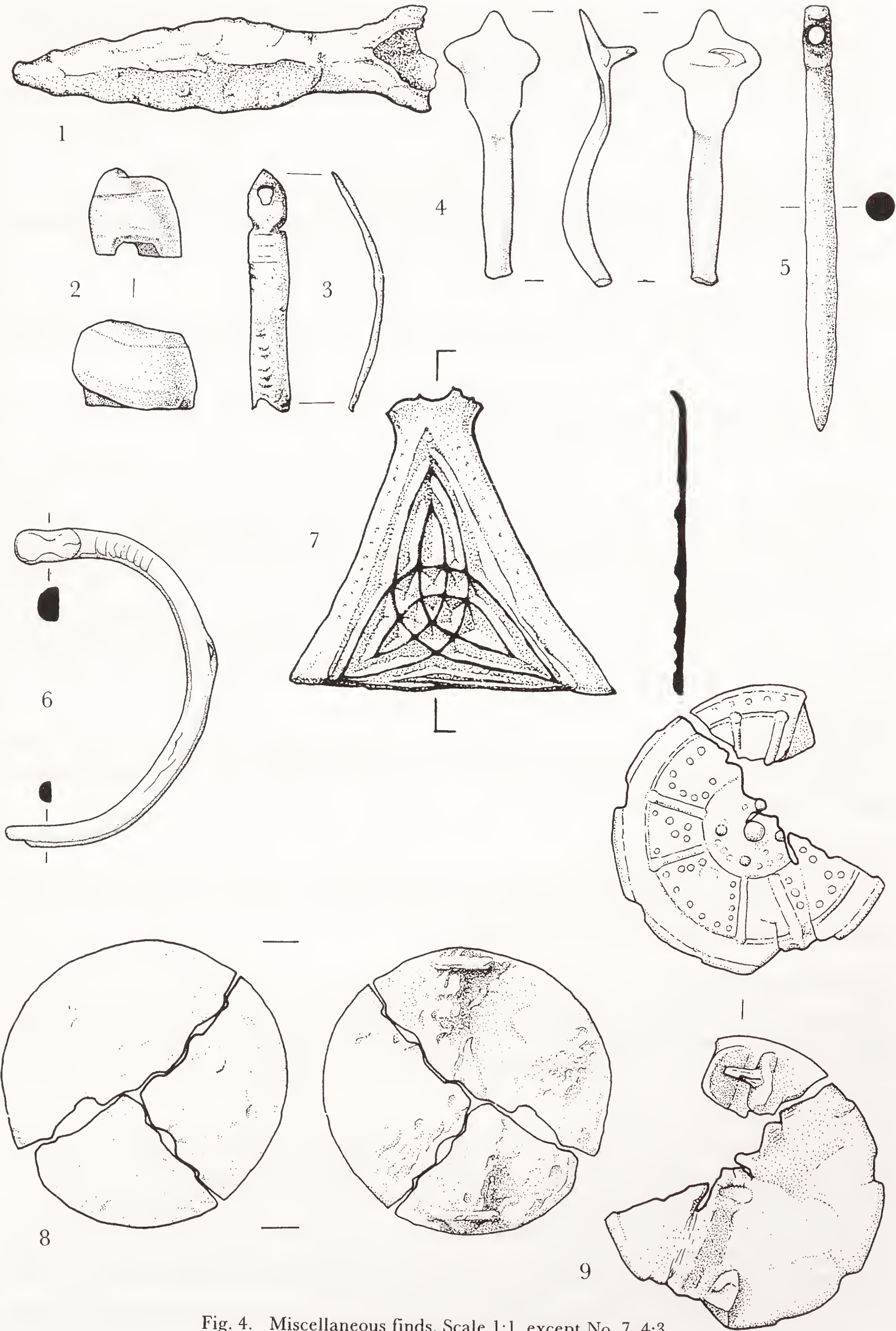


Fig. 4. Miscellaneous finds. Scale 1:1, except No. 7, 4:3.

23mm across (No. 2), of copper alloy with well formed animal head, the pin missing but having rested on the forehead between the ears. Bu'lock illustrated a very similar buckle from Meols, Cheshire, thought to be of ninth-century or later date.<sup>37</sup>

30mm across (No. 3), of copper alloy and simple semi-circular design with pin missing.

*Buckle Plates* (Fig. 5).

29mm long (No. 4), of copper alloy and silvered on one side but otherwise plain.

22mm long (No. 5), of copper alloy, one side decorated by two parallel incised median lines with grooves between and an incised line at the border.

*Bracelet* (possible; Fig. 4. No. 3).

34mm long, of copper alloy, fragmentary and pierced at terminal as if for securing.

*Finger Rings* (Fig. 5a).

Seven have been found to date, five of copper alloy (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6 and 7), one of silver (No. 2) and one of lead (No. 5).

*Spearheads*.

205mm long (Fig. 9) of iron with blade bent at right angles, damage caused by modern agricultural machinery, but otherwise in good condition and of typically Saxon form with split socket and slender blade. A similar example was found in a late Saxon hoard at Nazeing, Essex.<sup>38</sup>

57mm long (Fig. 4. No. 1), of copper alloy and a typically Middle Bronze Age socketed spearhead, rather corroded with remnants of securing loops on what remains of the socket. A similar spearhead was found at Potter Hanworth, Lincolnshire.<sup>39</sup>

*Needle* (Fig. 4. No. 5).

60mm long, of copper alloy and complete, though recovered in two halves. Such needles are apparently rare but have been found at Whitby,<sup>40</sup> and so this specimen may well be middle Saxon in date.

*Ferrule* (Fig. 4. No. 2).

20mm across, of copper alloy with two incised lines as decoration. Perhaps such ferrules helped in the hafting of the knife blades from the site, although were this the case then more should have been found.

*Spindle Whorls* (Fig. 6).

Six more of these have been found. Nos. 1-4 are roughly formed, sub-conical with flat bases as with those already published and paralleled by similar examples from South Newbald.<sup>41</sup> No. 5 is neatly rounded with No. 6 having a typically later medieval form.

*Gaming Counter* (Fig. 7 No. 3).

32mm diameter, of pot. The walls of a Roman colour-coated beaker would appear to have been neatly broken and abraded, leaving the base to function as a counter.

37. Bu'lock, *op. cit.* in n. 35, p. 22, fig. 7g.

38. Morris, C. A., 'A late Saxon hoard of iron and copper alloy artefacts from Nazeing, Essex', *Medieval Archaeology* 27 (1983), p. 31, fig. 2e-h.

39. Hanworth, P., 'Bronze Age Metalwork from Lincolnshire', *Archaeologia* 104 (1973), p. 79, fig. 15, no. 158.

40. Peers and Radford, *op. cit.* in n. 8, p. 61, fig. 13, no. 8; p. 63, fig. 14.

41. Leahy, K., in forthcoming BAR 25, *Middle Saxon Metalwork from South Newbald, North Humberside and the 'Sancton' coins*.

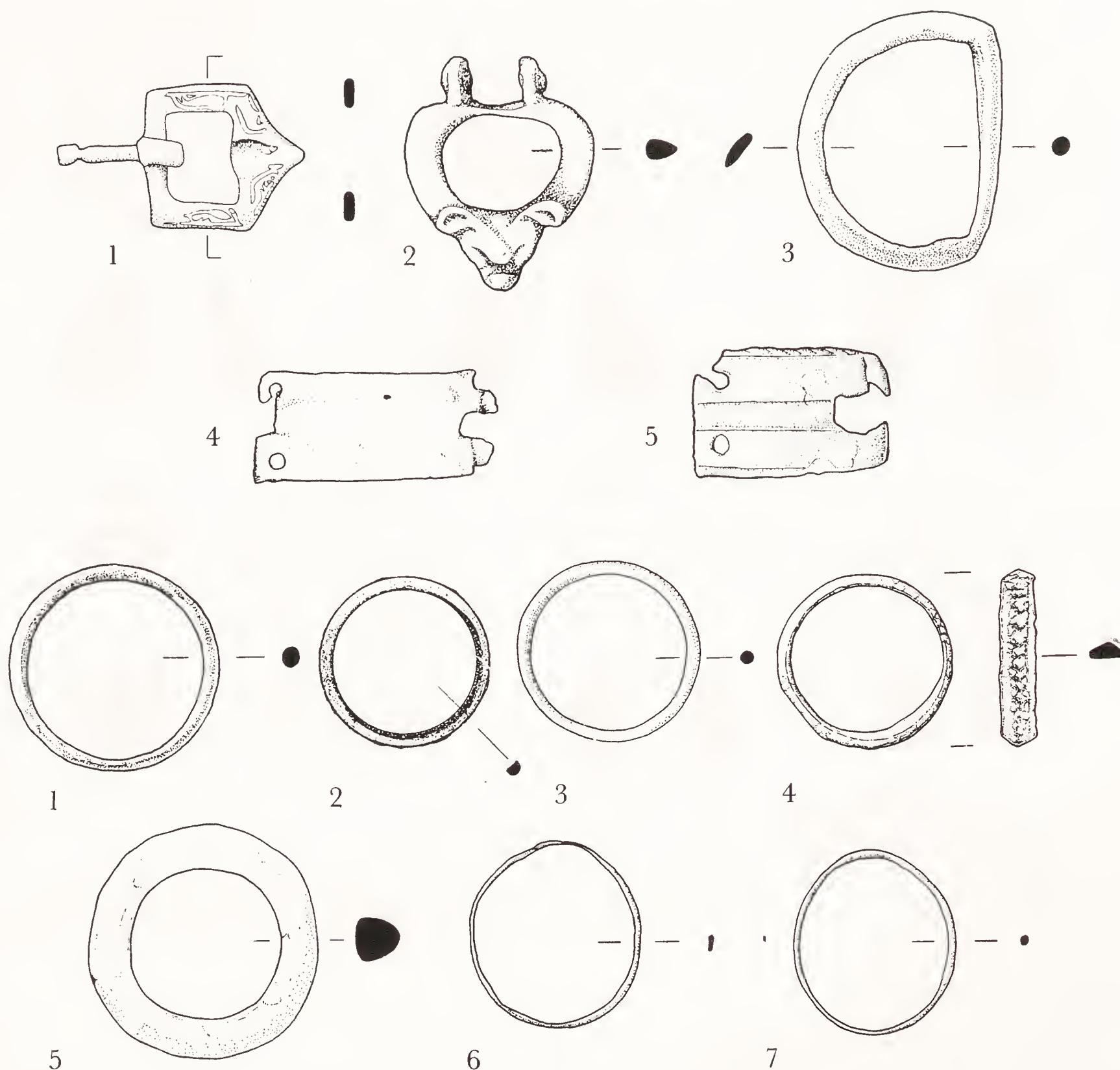


Fig. 5. Buckles, buckle plates and rings. Scale 1:1.

*Stone Phallus* (Fig. 7. No. 1).

133mm long, of sandstone and perfectly cylindrical with rounded ends and an incised line at one end, thought to delineate the *glans penis* area. Secondary pecking on the surface is difficult to interpret. A very similar artefact in chalk from Windmill Hill, Wiltshire, has been dated to the Neolithic by Piggott,<sup>42</sup> but a Roman date for our object cannot be excluded.

*Comb with Side Handle* (Fig. 7. No. 2).

72mm long, made from an antler tine cut along half its length with a longitudinal groove into which bone tooth plates were fixed by two iron rivets. Only a fragment of one of these plates remains with no teeth and the tine is rather corroded, although some simple decoration remains in the form of cross hatching and incised loops. McGregor points out that several close parallels exist in the east and south of England,

42. Piggott, S., *The Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles* (Cambridge 1954), p. 87, fig. 14, no. 2.

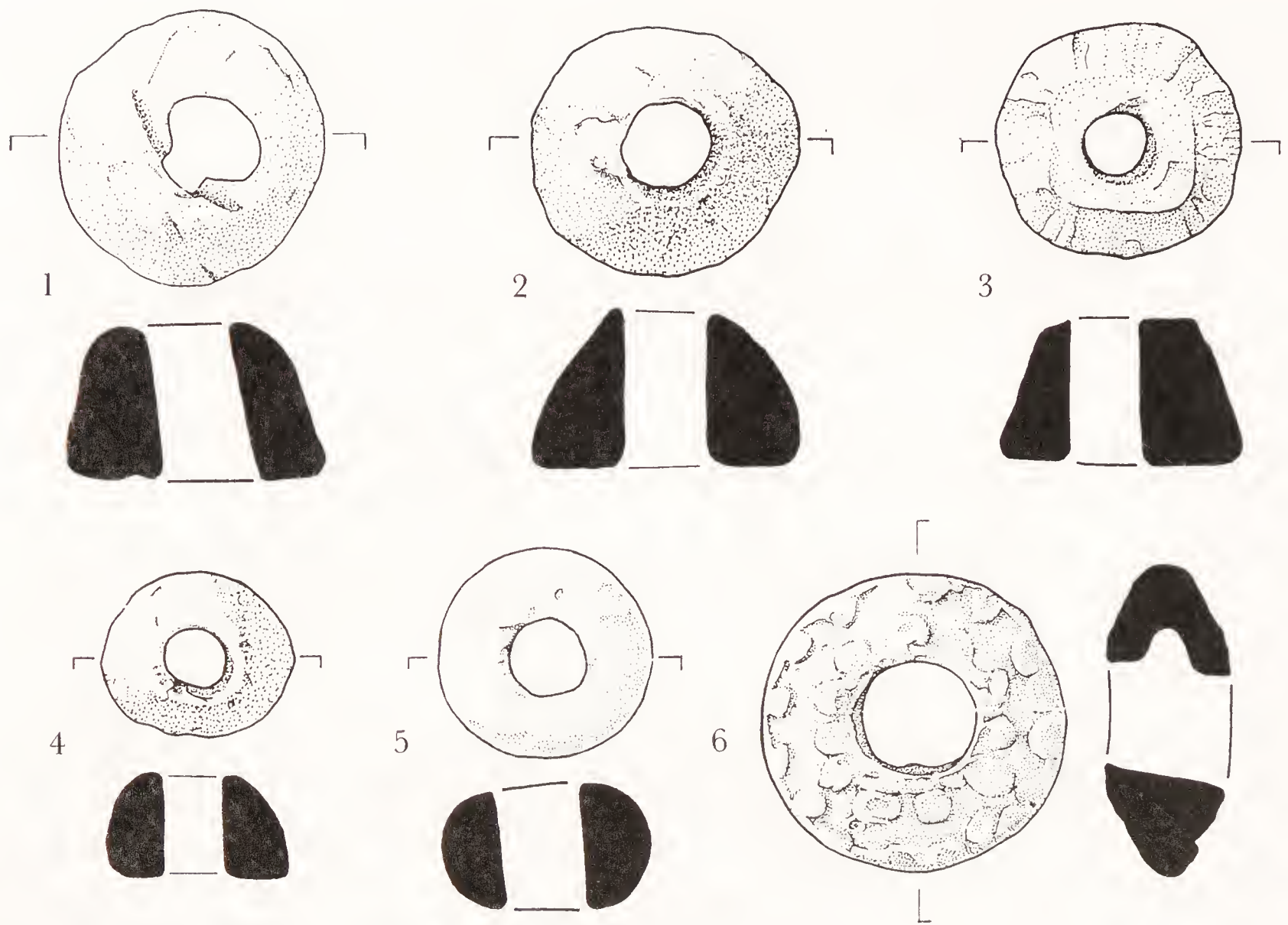


Fig. 6. Spindle whorls. Scale 1:1.

the nearest being York and Whitby.<sup>43</sup> None is securely dated though they are considered to have been popular from the seventh century to the early medieval period.

*The Ironwork* (Fig. 8).

*Knives* (Nos. 1-8).

Several more have been found, each of good Saxon form.

*Horseshoes* (No. 9).

Several probable Saxon examples, mostly fragmentary, have been found. Their typically early features include small size, wavy outline, six round nail-holes and turned-over calkins.<sup>44</sup>

*Prick-spur* (possible. Fig. 8, No. 10).

Fragmentary, but sufficient remains to indicate an early, possibly Saxon date.

*Pin / Key Head* (Fig. 8, No. 11).

Disc-shaped, partly broken, with open-work cruciform design and central perforation, which possibly held a stud, as with the elaborate copper alloy disc-headed pins. A key or pin shaft could have developed from the stub which remains.

*Keys* (Fig. 8, Nos. 12-14).

No. 14 is a latch lifter of a type not out of place in an Anglo-Saxon context, although it could be earlier. No. 12 is probably the terminal of a latch lifter. No. 13 is not sufficiently distinctive to be datable.

43. MacGregor, A., *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn - The Technology of Skeletal Material since the Roman Period* (London 1985), pp. 91-92.

44. Sparkes, I. G., *Old Horseshoes* (Bletchley 1983), p. 10.

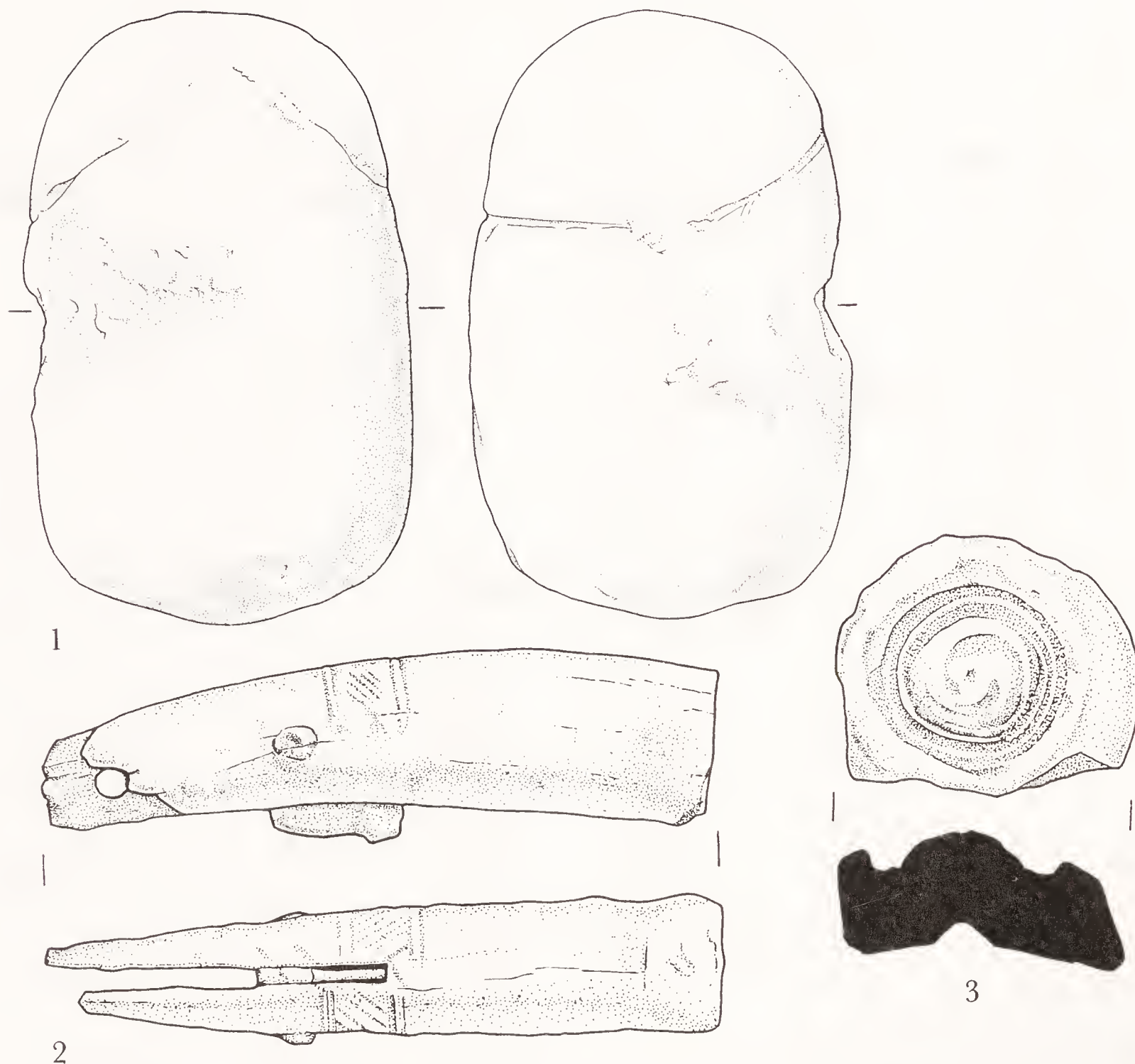


Fig. 7. Stone phallus, antler comb, pottery counter. Scale 1:1, except No. 1, 1:2.

#### *Quernstone.*

It now appears likely that the quernstone described in the first article is earlier than supposed, of a Romano-British type.

#### *The Coins.*

Fourteen further ninth-century Northumbrian stycas have been found, widely spread and comprising coins of Kings Eanred and Aethelred II (1st and 2nd reigns) and of Archbishop Wigmund. Additionally three early eighth-century non-Northumbrian sceats (one of the primary series and two of the secondary series), and one Northumbrian coin of Eadberht (737-58) have been found. Full publication of the coins by James Booth is forthcoming.

Nineteen Roman coins have been recovered, mostly of the late third to mid-fourth centuries. They have been identified by D. Hirst as follows:

Mark Antony; denarius; obv. galley r. (III.VIR.R.PC)

Julia Paula; denarius, plated; rev. VENUS GENETRIX.

Diocletian; follis; rev. GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

Carausius; antoninianus; PAX AVG; MLXX in exergue.

Maximianus; follis, traces of silvering; GENIO POPVLI ROMANI.

Constantine I (as Caesar); follis; GENIO POP ROM.

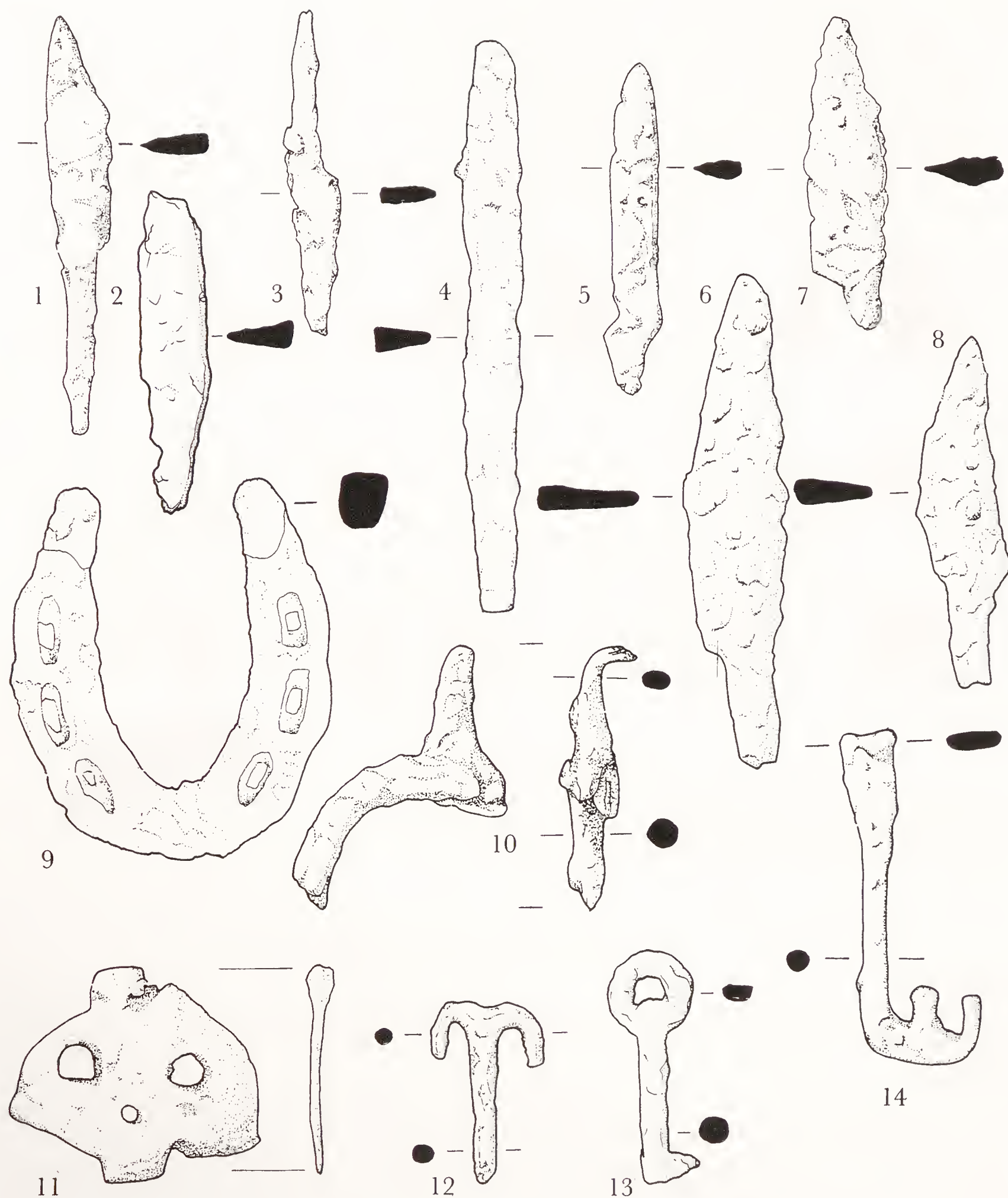


Fig. 8. Ironwork. Nos 1-9, Scale 1:2; Nos. 10-14, 1:1.

Constantine I; follis, traces of silvering; MARTI CONSERVATORI. Mintmark PTR.

Constantine I; follis; SOLI INVICTO COMITI.

Constantine I; AE 3; Sol stg 1.

Crispus; AE3; Camp-gate with three turrets; mintmark PLN.

Crispus; AE3; altar inscribed VOTIS XX.

Eight other bronze coins were not positively identified but consisted of a sestertius, two third-century possibly barbarous, three House of Constantine with soldiers and

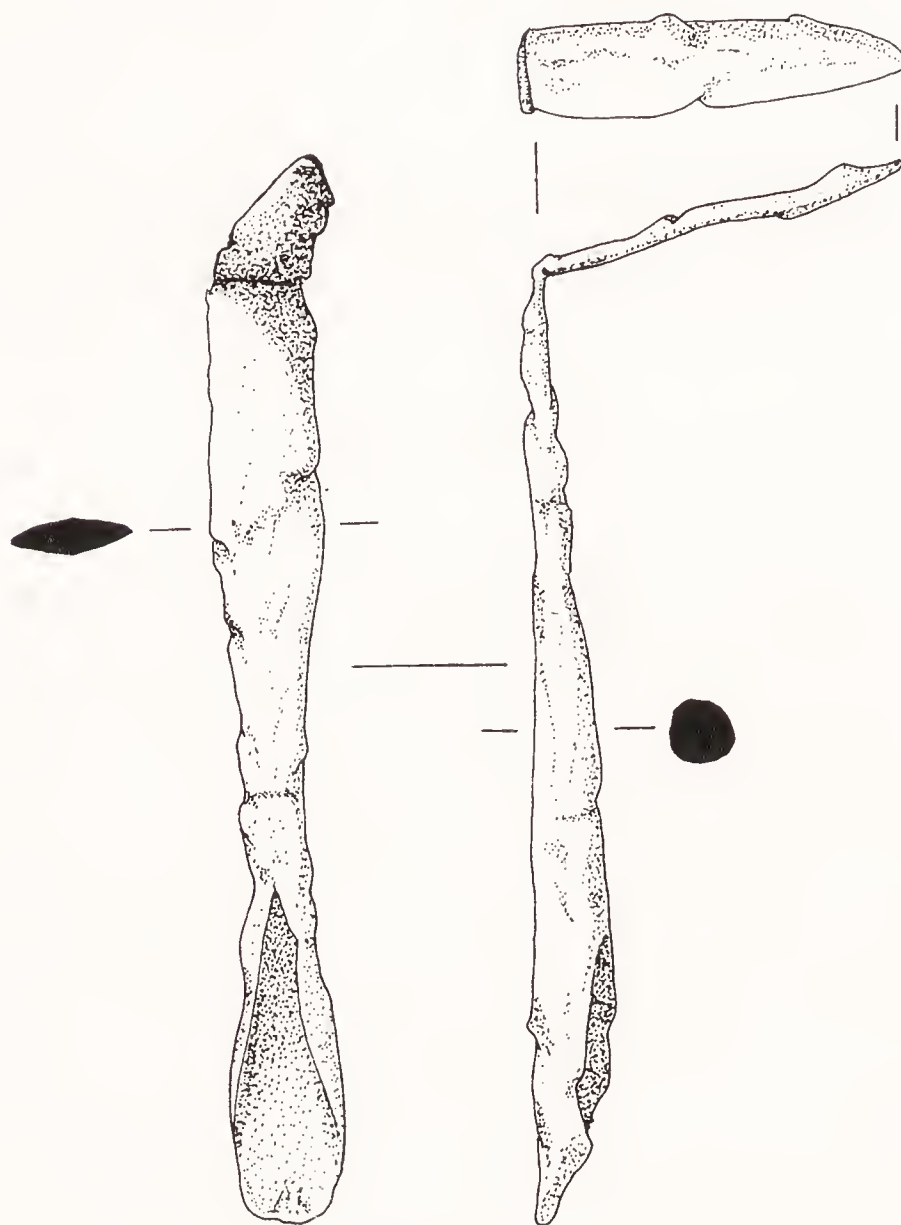


Fig. 9. Spearhead. Scale 1:2.

standard reverse, and two small bronzes.

*Brief details of recently found Anglo-Saxon metalwork* (full details must await future publication).

*Pins.* Nineteen further examples have been found, including one or two forms new to the site, albeit all are represented elsewhere in Middle Saxon assemblages.

*Strap-ends.* Three further examples, but no new types. Two fragments of a specimen previously found were discovered.

*Miscellaneous.* Rolled rectangular gold sheet, 15mm by 25mm with parallel incised broken lines.

Copper alloy ring with lentoid bezel with niello inlay.

Copper alloy clothes fastener with hook and sub-rectangular attachment plate.

*Coins.* Nine further ninth-century stycas have been found.

#### *Acknowledgements*

My grateful thanks go to the landowner for his generosity; to the illustrators – I. Beck, K. Burnham, S. Howling, P. Marshall, M. Straker, S. Thompson, L. Turner and D. Wheelhouse, all being members of the E.T. Archaeology Project, Archaeology Unit, Property Service of Humberside County Council; to members of the survey group – J. Chapman, R. Foots, S. Foster, D. Hirst (who identified the Roman coins) and C. Popplewell for their efforts and co-operation, and to Kevin Leahy of Scunthorpe Museum for ongoing encouragement.



## EXCAVATIONS AT CASTLE HILL, CASTLETON, NORTH YORKSHIRE.

By S. J. Sherlock

Excavation was undertaken in July 1988 at Castle Hill, Castleton (NZ 688081), in advance of building work. The site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument within which a farmhouse and outbuildings were constructed in the eighteenth century. The redevelopment of the site by the present owner necessitated Scheduled Ancient Monument Consent which required that archaeological deposits likely to be affected by building activities had to be the subject of archaeological excavation. The work was contracted to Cleveland County Archaeology Section and directed by the author, who would like to thank Philip Allick for his co-operation and interest. Further thanks are also due to Barbara Watson for typing and Wendy Howells for the drawings reproduced in this report. I should also like to thank Blaise Vyner and Robin Daniels for commenting on an earlier draft of this text.

Castleton Castle is a horseshoe-shaped ringwork measuring 100m east-west and 90m north-south. The site is located towards the western end of the Esk valley at an altitude of 160m O.D. (Fig. 1). The castle site overlooks the River Esk and commands a north-south route across the North York Moors (Fig. 2). The castle earthworks have been damaged by the construction of a road in the nineteenth century as well as by the surviving farm buildings.

### HISTORY.

The documentary history of this interesting site has been discussed elsewhere and so only a brief summary of events will be given here; the reader is referred to P'anson<sup>1</sup> and Atkinson.<sup>2</sup> Castleton is not specifically mentioned in Domesday book, although the manor of Danby is noted as being in the possession of Hugh Fitzbaldric, along with several other estates. Fitzbaldric was the Sheriff of Yorkshire, he died in 1089 without an heir and the estate was reverted to the crown. The Danby estate, along with Lealholm (Yorkshire) and Crumbeclive (Yorkshire), were given by King William to Robert de Brus, who is thought to have built the castle at Castleton sometime between 1100 and 1104. Castleton was the centre of the de Brus estates in Cleveland, an estate which comprised 40 villages, which may explain why a large defensive work was constructed at Castleton whilst a smaller ringwork was constructed at Castle Levington, near Yarm (Cleveland). Sometime shortly after 1104 Robert de Brus received the Skelton estate (Cleveland) from Henry I, and the principal de Brus seat moved to Skelton from Castleton.

The Danby estate was taken from the de Brus's by Henry II in exchange for land at Micklethwaite in West Yorkshire, according to Atkinson,<sup>3</sup> who argued that this

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1. P'anson, W. M., 'The Castle of the North Riding', *Y.A.J.* 22, (1913) 303-99 'subsequently cited as P'anson 1913'.
  2. J. C. Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*. (London 1891), 'subsequently cited as Atkinson 1891'.
  3. Atkinson 1891, 273.

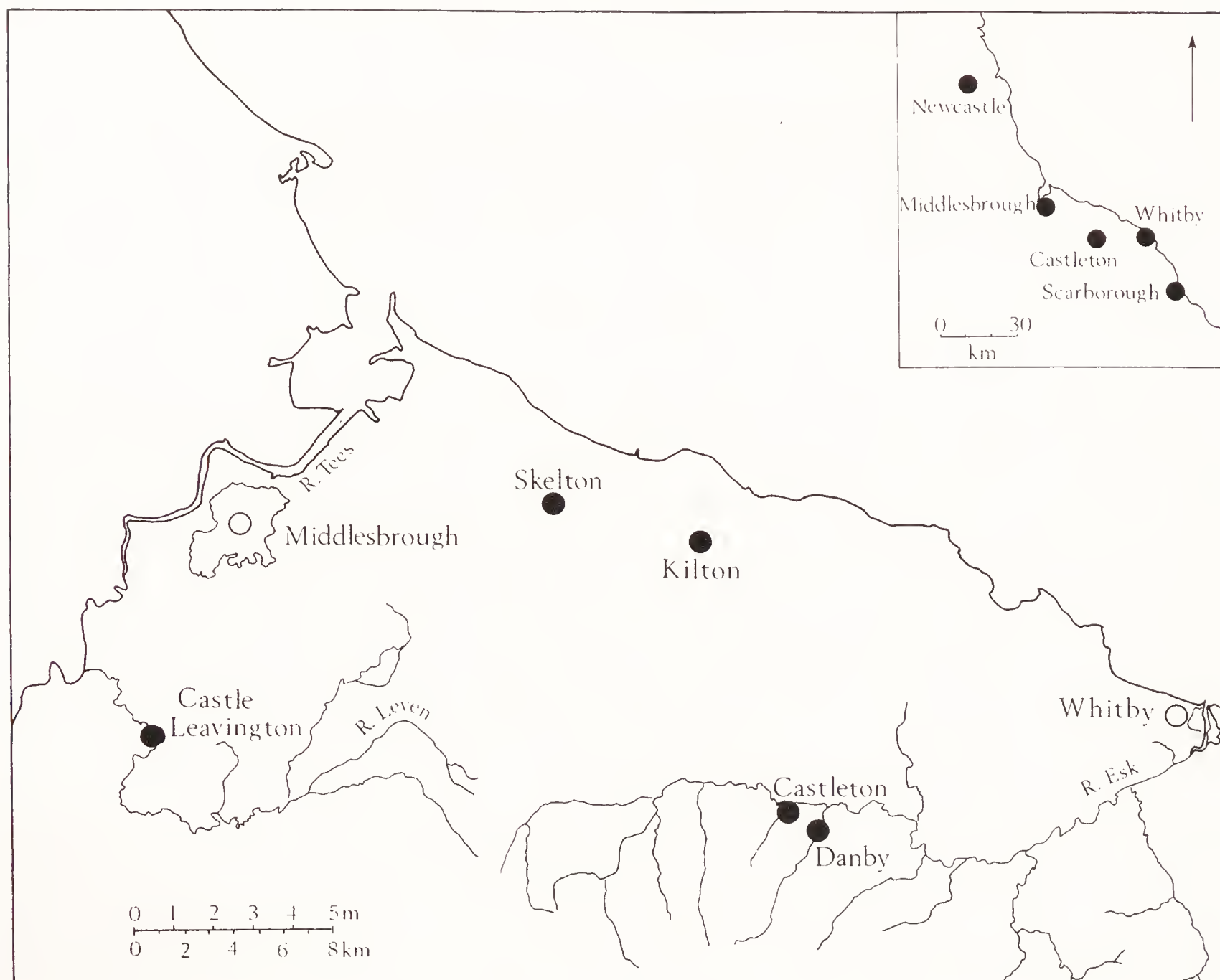


Fig. 1. Location map

breaking up of the de Brus estate in Cleveland must have been enforced by the king and that the importance of the Castleton estate to the de Brus's is signified by their expensive repurchase in 1200. The Danby estate was then bought by Peter de Brus I for 1,000 pounds, an expense thought to be a realistic price for an estate if the exchequer had refortified the original timber castle in stone. Considering that the capital messuage of the manor was valued at 6s. 8d. in 1274<sup>4</sup> the castle was obviously a ruin at this time. It has been suggested that the destruction of the castle may have occurred when King John undertook reprisals against the rebellious northern barons in 1216.<sup>5</sup>

The death of Peter de Brus II in 1271 without a male heir led to the de Brus estate being divided among four sisters, with the Danby, Wolvedale, Lealholm (Yorkshire), Brotton and Skinninggrove estates (Cleveland) being given to Lucia, married to Marmaduke de Thweng of Kilton (Cleveland). The Danby estate passed via their son Robert to his daughter, Lucia de Thweng, who in 1296 married William le Latimer. The couple had a new castle built for the Danby estate, some 3 miles east of Castleton. Danby Castle is thought to date from between 1300 and 1305.<sup>6</sup> If this is the case the

4. W. Brown, 'Yorkshire Inquisitions for the Reign of Henry III and Edward I' *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* 12. (1892) 143.

5. Atkinson 1891, 277.

6. Atkinson 1891, 460.



Fig. 2. Castle Hill, Castleton.

'ruined peel' referred to in 1335<sup>7</sup> must refer to the Castle Hill, Castleton, establishment.

#### THE EXCAVATION.

##### *The manholes and service trench.*

Two manholes were excavated by hand and an associated service trench was excavated by machine with subsequent archaeological recording. The trench led from the interior of the ringwork to the lane at the south-east of the ringwork, passing through the area thought to have been occupied by the ringwork entrance. The northern manhole was excavated to a depth of 57cm, the depth required by the

7. VCH 1968 *Victoria History of the Counties of England, Yorkshire North Riding* 2.

services. Three deposits were encountered; pottery and other debris demonstrated that these levels were modern in origin. The second, southern, manhole, required a depth of 1.4m and provided advance information on the deposits to be cut through by the machine trench.

The service trench led from the first manhole Past the east end of the existing building, it was over the southern part of its course that archaeological remains were encountered. South of the existing building the trench cut through modern deposits overlying a deposit of gravelly clay which could be undisturbed subsoil or might have been redeposited material. Further south there was evidence for the original defensive structure (Fig. 3). In this area were three upper levels: a clean garden soil, a sterile soil horizon and a sandy clay layer. These overlay a ditch, 4m wide, which had been infilled with large stones set in brown soil. The fill contained a number of fragments of brick and tile, suggesting that it had been filled relatively recently. Apparently set into the southern bank of the ditch was a section of a wall comprising a number of roughly squared sandstone blocks. Their purpose is unknown, but if an original feature these may have been used to reinforce the bank to provide for an entrance, and may possibly have been a bridge abutment. The presence of the ditch in this area suggests that the entrance was provided with a ditched defence and a bridge would have been needed.

#### *The house extension area.*

A small trench was opened by hand in order to establish the level of archaeological deposits to the rear of the existing building, a machine was then used to remove 20cm of overburden over an area 9m by 3m. The removal of this material revealed a scatter of soil and compacted small stones which proved to be a yard perhaps associated with Castle Hill Farm. On the south side of the area were three modern post-holes which probably mark the line of a fence beside the path at the back of the house. The removal of the compacted stones revealed part of a wall which was aligned north-west by south-east (Fig. 4). The wall extended beyond the excavated area to the north, whilst to the south it had been robbed out. A trench had been excavated in order to remove the roughly dressed stones (Plate 1. 1). The quarrying of the wall had probably also resulted in the excavation of two hollows which were also noted.

The wall, of which only a small length survived, probably formed the south side of a simple structure. This building had possessed a cobbled interior; one side appeared to have been supported at various times by timber posts set in post-holes and by posts set

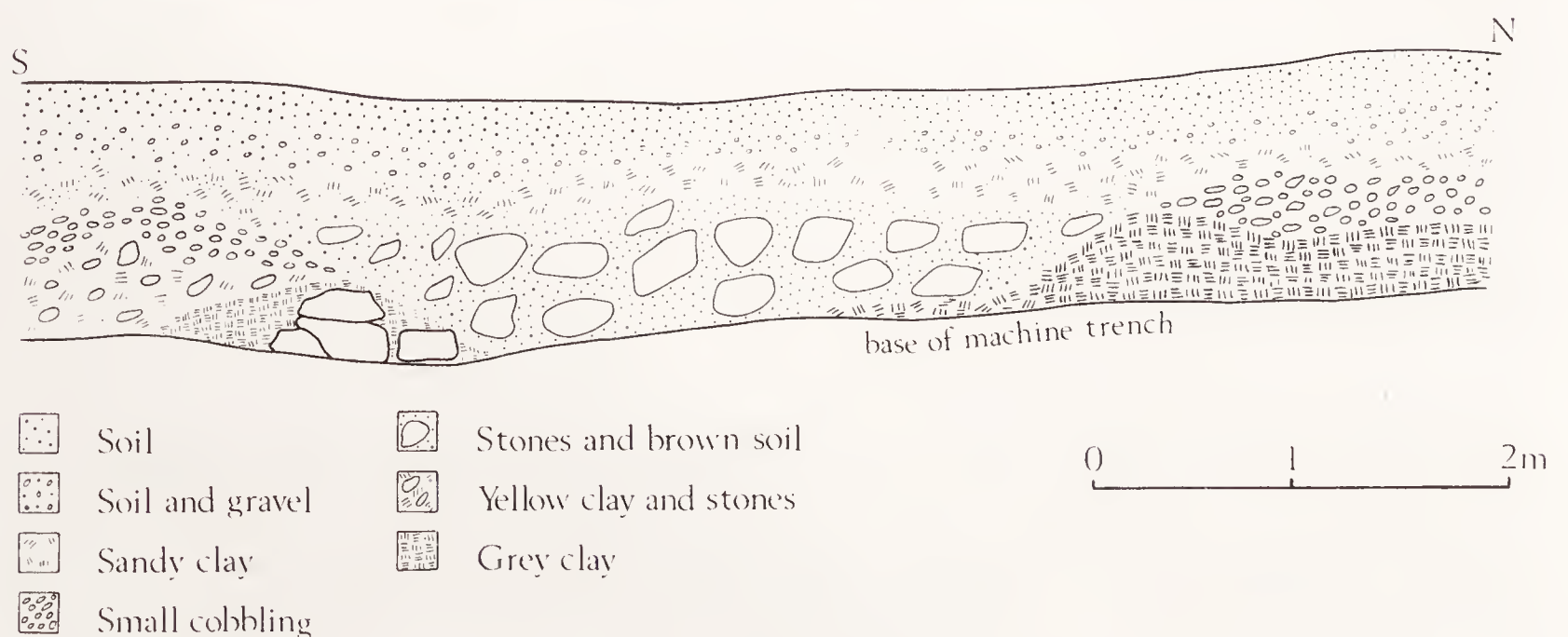


Fig. 3. Section in service trench, looking west.

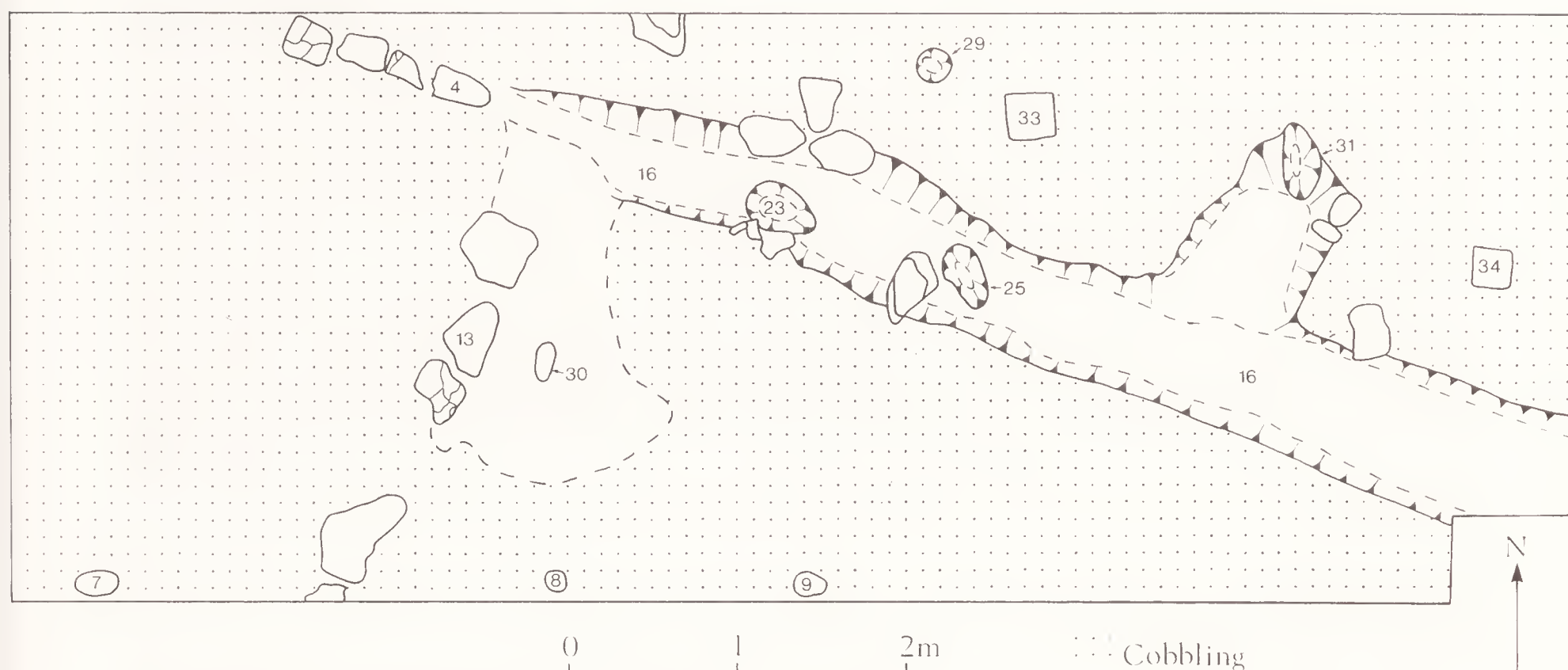


Fig. 4. Castle Hill, Castleton. Plan of excavated area.



Fig. 5. Detail of walling.

on pad-stones. The post-holes had been packed with stones showing that the timbers they had contained had been 20cm in diameter and set 30cm into the ground. It is likely that the pad-stones are evidence for another phase of this building, set on more-or-less the same alignment. Only two post-pads were found within the excavation area. The structure had been established upon a flat cobbled surface which sloped to the

south and east, possibly for drainage purposes. There was little evidence for the original size of this structure; there may have been an entrance to the building north of one of the post holes. Deposits associated with the building contained pottery of seventeenth-century date and medieval pottery found with this is clearly residual. Since the building appears to have had an agricultural purpose, the absence of artefacts is not surprising. A date for its original establishment is hard to arrive at, but it may well be earlier than the seventeenth-century pottery.

The excavation of the cobbled yard and part of the underlying levels revealed a bank of orange soil which had reinforced an earlier wall. This was aligned north-east by south-west and was constructed of large blocks of roughly squared stone, several of which were removed in order to facilitate the present development. The stones had not been bonded with mortar, but appeared to have been set within soil. The level had also been cut by a post-hole, but these features were not subject to damage and so were not examined.

## THE FINDS.

*Pottery*, by B. E. Vyner

The mixed nature of the pottery, and its abraded character, strongly suggests that the finds are residual and have little chronological value. The assemblage does, however, comprise an interesting group of medieval pottery which is worth mention. For the most part the sherds are small, abraded and undiagnostic. From the small sample available the proportion of glazed to plain sherds is noteworthy and suggests a relatively high status household. A few assemblages from the area have been the subject of recent study (Drummond,<sup>8</sup> Jones,<sup>9</sup> Vyner,<sup>10</sup>), although none is particularly complete or extensive.

A number of sherds are in what has been termed East Cleveland or Staxton-type ware, and sherds of regional green-glazed jars and cisterns are also present. Also of probable thirteenth or fourteenth-century date are a few sherds of Tees Valley Ware. Pottery in the Osmotherly tradition is represented by several sherds. Vessels are mostly jars or jugs, but there is part of a chafing dish in green-glazed ware, part of a colander in East Cleveland Fabric and a bowl with a bifid rim in Tees Valley Ware. Later medieval types, such as Cistercian Ware and forms such as tygs or cups are absent. A single small sherd of north Italian pottery is the only obvious import and the absence of Scarborough Ware is of interest, but perhaps not unexpected in view of the inland location of the site.

The assemblage gives the impression of representing medieval domestic activity with a subsequent hiatus, followed by the deposition of rubbish on site from the seventeenth century onwards.

## *Padstones.*

Two roughly squared stones appear to have been used as pads on which to rest vertical structural timbers, one showed evidence for rough tooling.

Apart from a few fragments of clay pipe, brick and tile from the upper levels, no other artefacts were found.

8. B. G. Drummond, 'Pottery from Rievaulx Abbey' *Y.A.J.* 60 (1988), 31-46.

9. W. M. Sherlock 1990, 'The Finds' in Heslop, D. H. and Aberg, A., 'Excavations at Tollesby, Cleveland, 1972 and 1974' *Archit. and Archaeol. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland Research Report No. 2*, pp.88-106.

10. B. E. Vyner, 'The Pottery' in Aberg, F. A. and Smith, A. N. 'Excavations at the Medieval Village of Boulby, Cleveland', in Manby, T. G.(ed.) *Archaeology in Eastern Yorkshire* (Sheffield 1988), 149-175

## DISCUSSION.

There have been no modern excavations of mottes or ringworks in the north of England and so it is difficult to refute or reinforce I'anson's claim that they were erected between 1071 and 1145.<sup>11</sup> Castleton is different from many Norman castles in being a ringwork rather than a motte, the nearest similar site is Castle Levington, also owned by the de Brus family. A ringwork has been described as 'a roughly circular earthwork of bank and ditch', as opposed to a motte which is 'an earthen mound'.<sup>12</sup> The Castle Levington ringwork may be associated with slight evidence for a bailey, although fieldwork suggests that this may be an earlier prehistoric defence.<sup>13</sup> Until further excavation is undertaken little can be said about the internal arrangements of such sites.

At Castleton excavation revealed that the entrance had been defended by the ditch, with stone used as a revetment. There was no trace of the stone castle suggested by Atkinson<sup>14</sup> nor, indeed, of any early timber structure. The agricultural building which was found to occupy the interior of the ringwork employed in one structural phase the use of pad-stones, a style which, although uncommon in the area,<sup>15</sup> is also found at the moated site at East Red Hall, Darlington (County Durham).<sup>16</sup> This building is most probably sixteenth century in date, a time when the latest occupation is thought to have taken place at Kilton Castle.<sup>17</sup> The fifteenth century castle at Danby continued to be occupied as castle, manor and farm. The fortification at Castleton probably continued with infrequent occupation until the present farm was constructed, evidenced by a stone lintel dated 1752, found during the current development.

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11. I'anson 1913, 313.

12. D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London 1968), 78-9.

13. S. J. Sherlock, 'The Techniques and Results of Fieldwalking in South Cleveland' in *Fieldwalking for Archaeology*, (Middlesbrough 1984).

14. Atkinson 1891, 311.

15. R. Daniels, 'Excavated Rural Medieval Buildings of the Tees Lowlands' *Durham Archaeol. Journ.* (1988).

16. L. Still and A. F. Pallister, 'Excavations of a Moated Site at East Red Hall, Houghton-le-Skerne, Darlington' *Trans. Durham and Northumberland Archaeol. & Archit. Soc.* ns 4, (1978) 85-99.

17. A. Aberg, 'Kilton Castle' in 'Medieval Britain in 1966', *Medieval Archaeology* 10, (1966) 192.



## THE MEDIEVAL POTTERY INDUSTRIES AT STAXTON AND POTTER BROMPTON, EAST YORKSHIRE

by T. C. M. Brewster and Colin Hayfield

### A) INTRODUCTION

In the late 1940s Tony Brewster excavated two sites in the Vale of Pickering, at Newnham's Pit at Staxton and Carr House Farm at Flixton (Brewster 1952). Both produced quantities of medieval pottery in a coarse, heavily sand-tempered fabric which he suggested had probably been produced from kilns situated somewhere along the northern foot of the Wolds between Flotmanby and Scagglethorpe. This scarp, he observed, contained plentiful sand deposits for tempering, while the local Speeton Clays were suitable for potting. Nearby peat deposits would also have provided a slow-burning, but adequate fuel supply.

The village of Potter Brompton (Figs. 1 - 2a) seemed to him the most likely source for the industry. Apart from its name, several wasters had been located in the field opposite Potter Hill Farm (Fig. 3a). He began excavation there in January 1953, with a further short season early the following year, discovering large amounts of pottery and several features which he interpreted as pit-kilns.

In July 1953 his attention was drawn to the neighbouring village of Staxton (Fig. 2b), where building activity at a light engineering factory, Stephenson's Works (Fig. 3b), had uncovered a pit containing substantial quantities of very similar coarseware pottery. On his arrival, Brewster salvaged material from the surface of the site and excavated the remains of the pit. The same year a further assemblage of pottery was discovered on the adjoining 'Boythorpe' site.

It was not until 1957 that further discoveries took place, this time at 'Dean's House' Staxton (Fig. 3b). Brewster spent three days here excavating parts of a single, large feature containing an assemblage of what he was now calling 'Staxton ware'. These discoveries at Staxton had all centred around the site of the Hare and Hounds Inn. Consequently, when a suitable opportunity arose in 1963, he began excavations at the back of the pub assisted by a small party of school children. Here he recovered a substantial quantity of pottery and traces of wall which, he suggested, may have been a potter's workshed. Finally, he returned to Staxton in 1967 to take over amateur excavations within the garden of 'Young George Dobson's House' where another waster pit had been discovered.

Although spending less than eight weeks working in the field at Staxton and Potter Brompton, Brewster developed a fascination for their medieval pottery industries. Indeed he was one of the first to take an interest in the medieval pottery industry of Yorkshire. Although he wrote a short, interim note (Brewster 1958), he was sadly never able to publish his work on these two potting villages during his lifetime. All the more unfortunate, because many important details of his fieldwork seem never to have been committed to paper. Although in retrospect, his excavation recording can often seem inadequate, much of his archaeology was carried out under very difficult circumstances. Most of this work was unpaid, and he had to use whatever work-force his energy and ingenuity could devise.

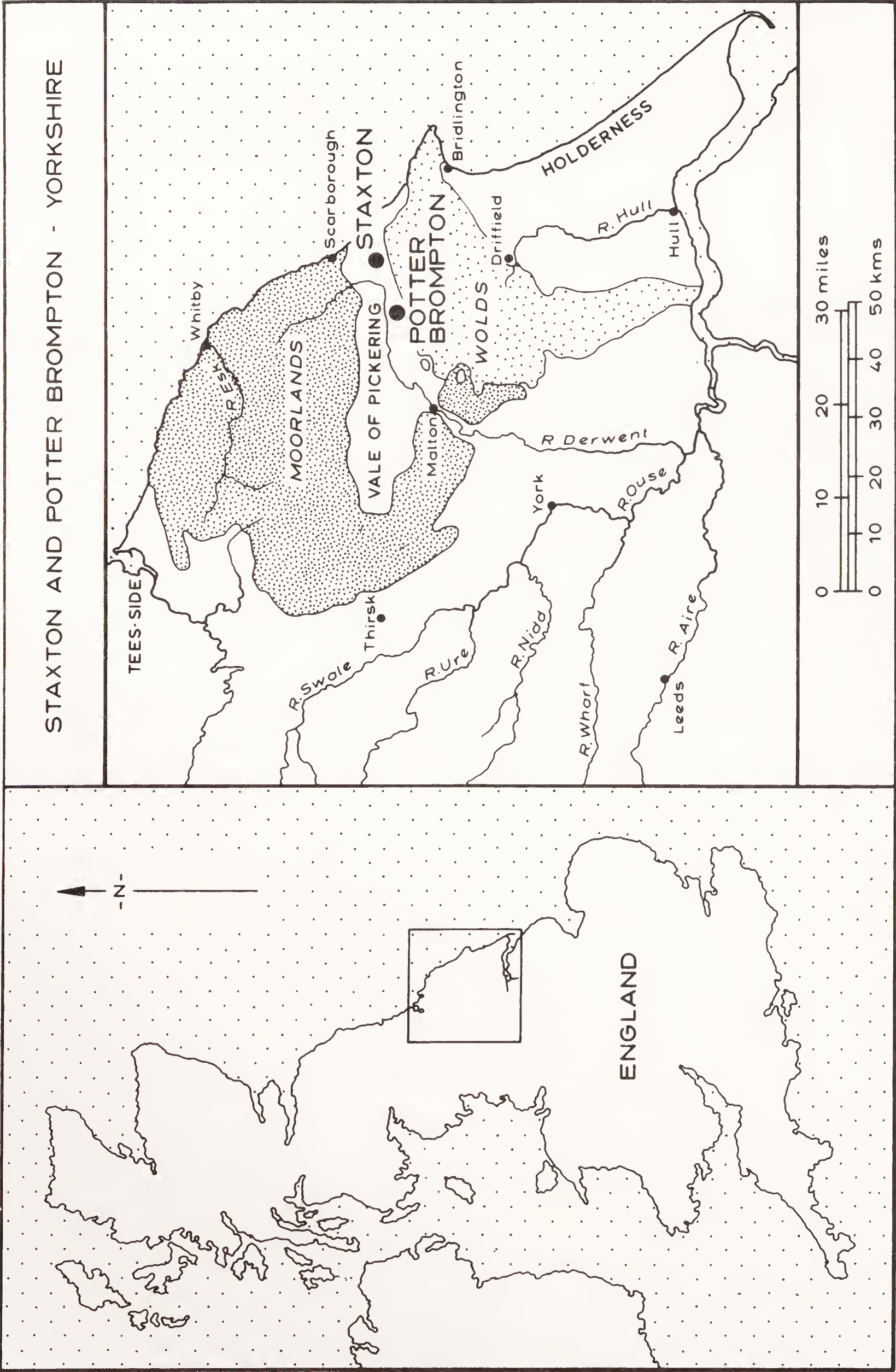


Fig. 1. General Location Map.

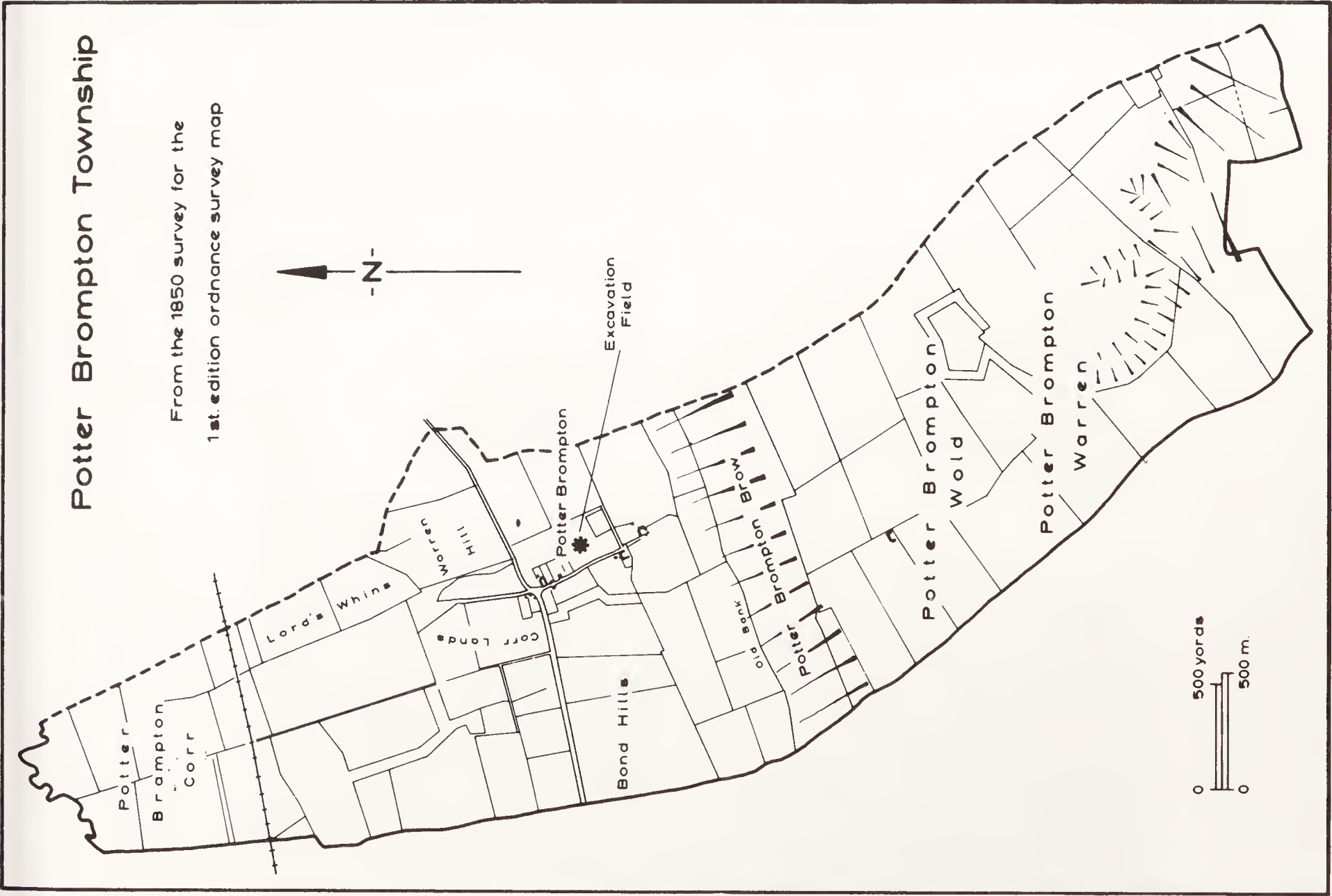


Fig. 2a. Potter Brompton Township.

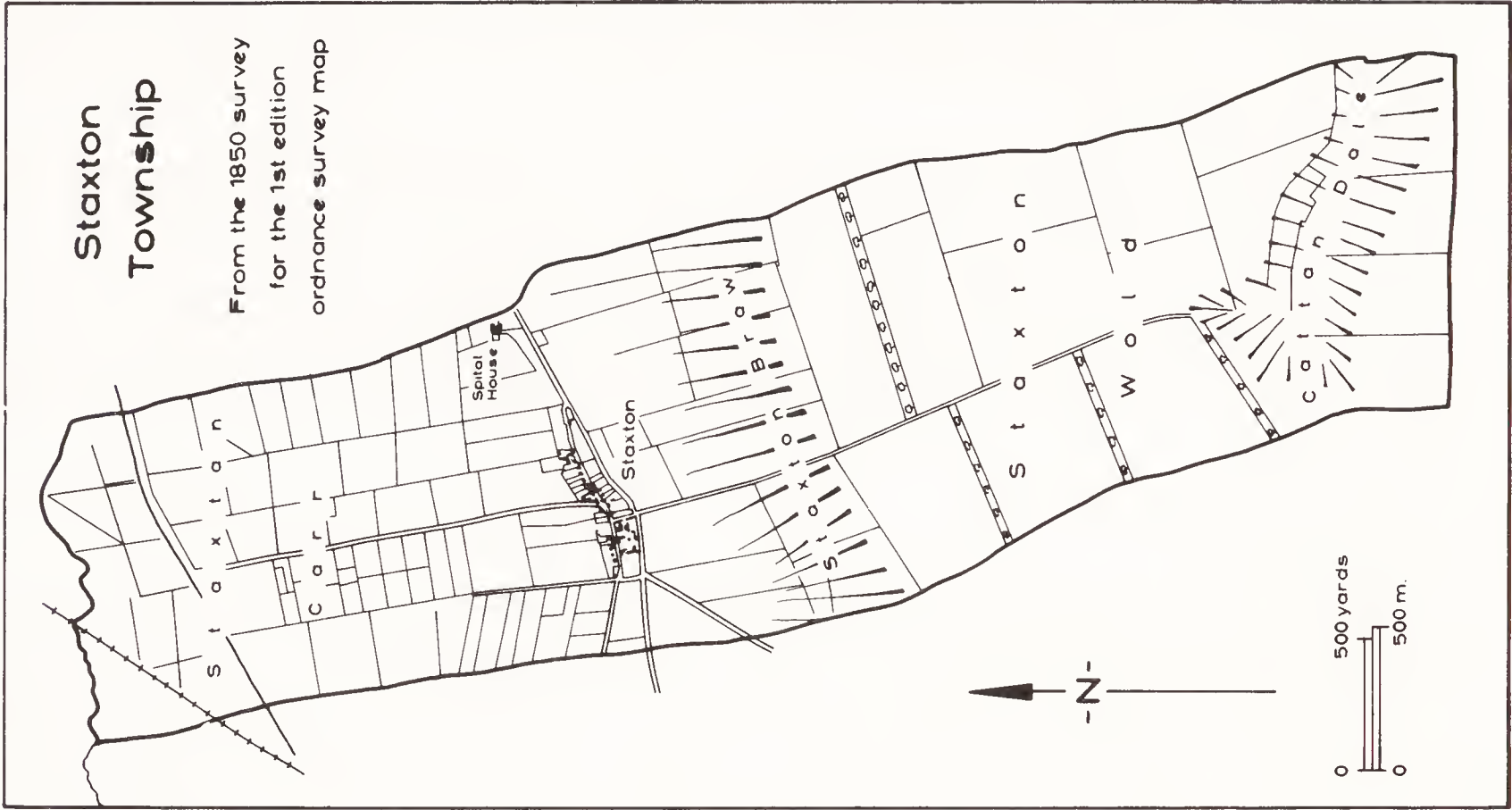


Fig. 2b. Staxton Township.

There was an obvious problem of how to research and present such large and varied ceramic assemblages which, for the most part, came from unsealed groups with little or no stratification. A lack of external dating materials also meant that these pottery assemblages could only be judged earlier or later than one another on the basis of any typological variations in their component vessel types and in changes of shape and style between similar forms.

As there proved to be a number of basic vessel forms common to all the assemblages, these have been identified and discussed as part of the opening assemblage from Potter Brompton and their component numbers have then been tabulated for every other group / site. The more complete vessel profiles for both villages have been presented on a double fold-out page at 1/8th scale. Thereafter the illustrated material has been kept to a minimum, although some 500 pottery drawings are lodged in the site archive.

## B) POTTER BROMPTON

### a: Excavations

The excavations at Potter Brompton took place over two short seasons in a field immediately east of Potter Hill Farm (Fig. 3a). The first, in January 1953, involved the excavation of six linear trenches, but sadly no site plan survives. Field notes indicate that Trench 1 revealed part of a pit (Pit 1) with a fill of burnt soil ash and pot sherds. The subsoil in this part of the trench reportedly showed traces of burning, but again there were no further details. A thick layer of pottery sherds was uncovered in Trench 3, while Trench 4 revealed part of another pit. A second, four day season of work took place in January 1954. Two parallel east-west linear trenches were excavated which contained four pits (Pits 2-5), but again only fragmentary records survive.

### b: Pottery

The typical 'Staxton ware' fabric is a fairly hard, heavily sand-tempered one whose surfaces feel rough to the touch. However, the fabric of the Potter Brompton vessels



Plate 1. Potter Brompton: Pit 1, section.

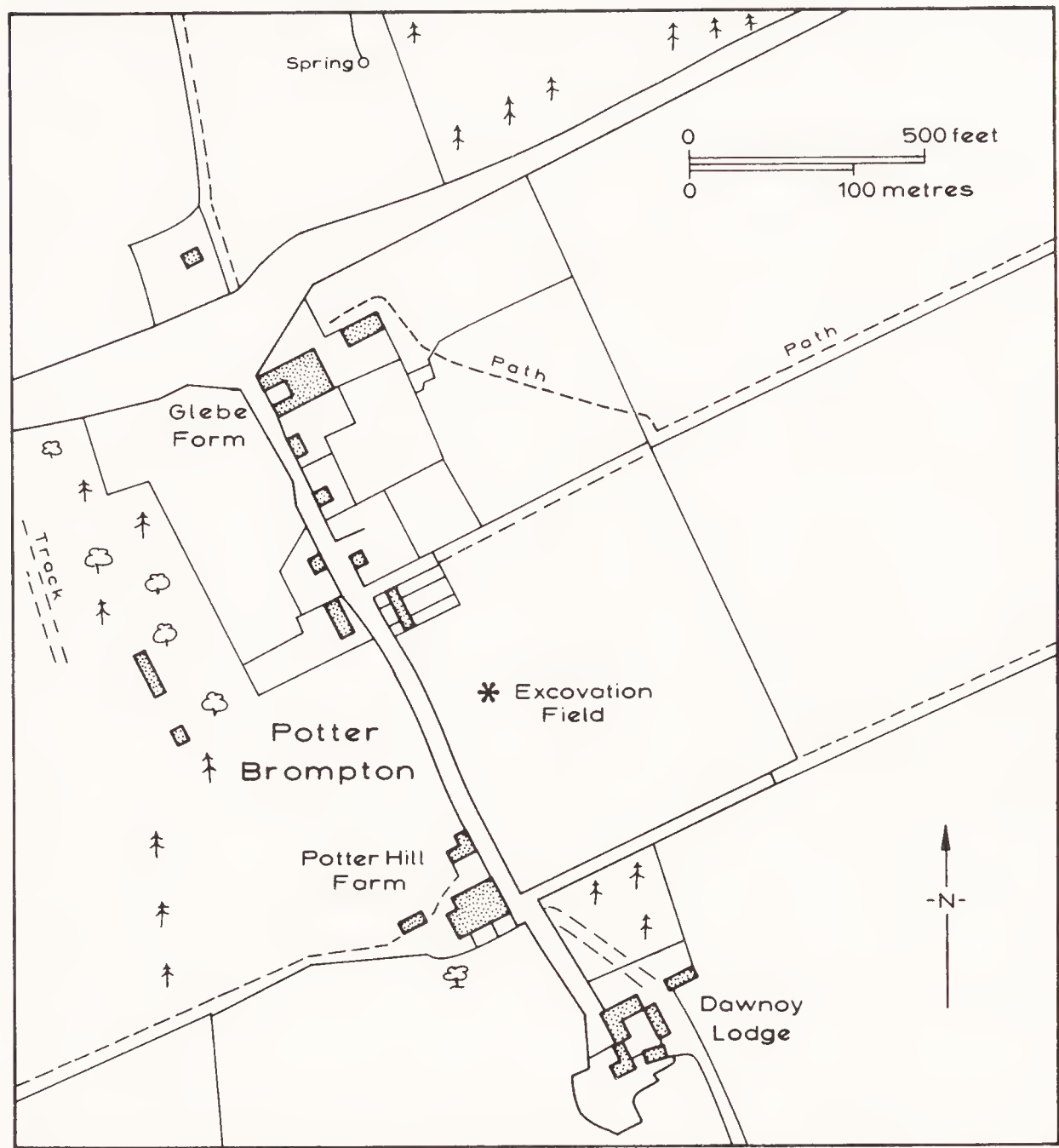


Fig. 3a. Location of excavation in Potter Brompton.

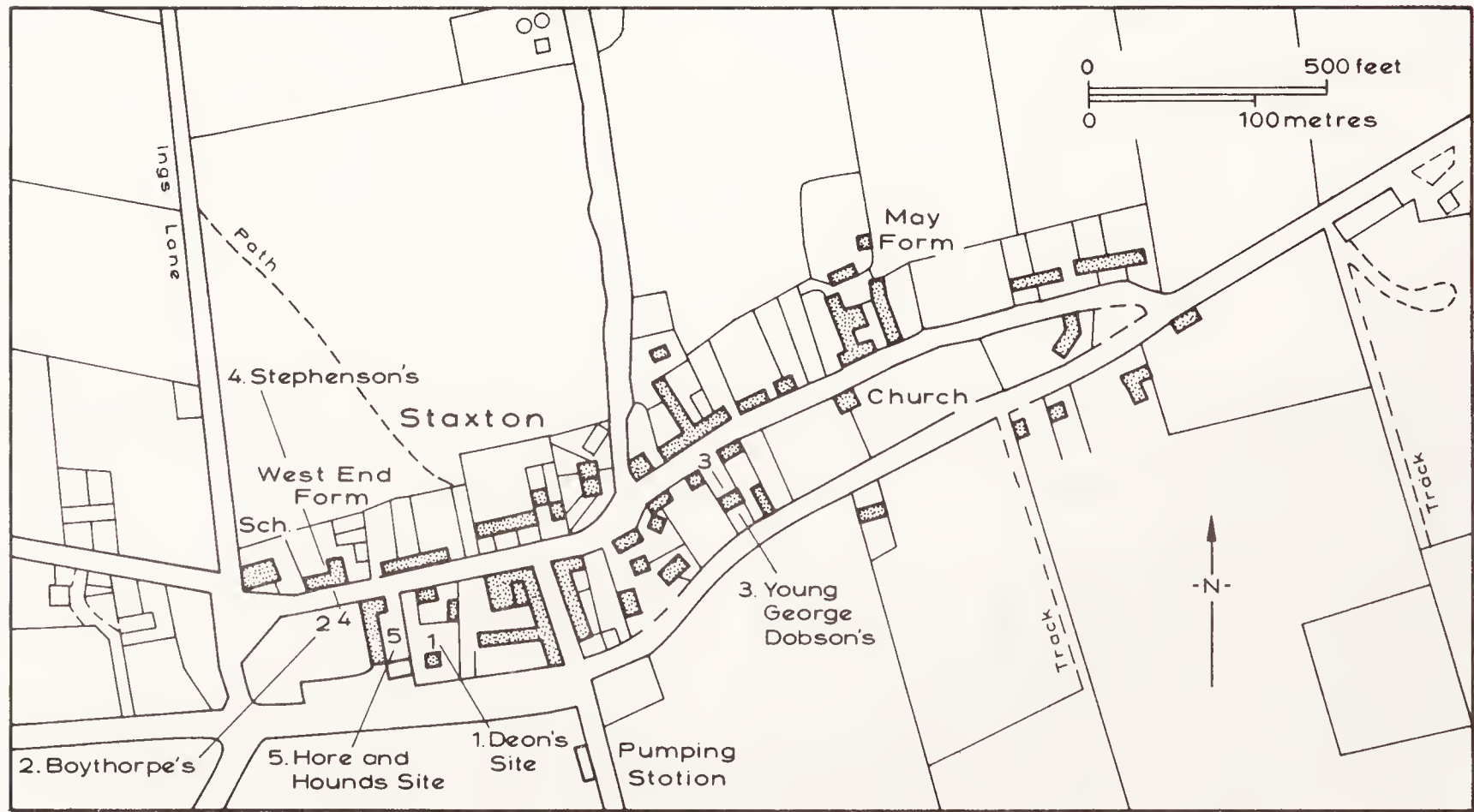


Fig. 3b. Location of excavations in Staxton.

differed in that it frequently (though not always) contained more, and larger, pellets of grog than other Staxton wares, and secondly, tiny grains of Chalk were occasionally visible in the Potter Brompton sherds but not in other Staxton wares. It seems all Staxton wares were oxidised, that is free passage of air was allowed during firing, producing orange / yellow / buff / brown coloured surfaces. Occasionally the thicker, core, parts of a vessel, and, less often, the entire inner surface, were reduced to blue-greys or silver-greys. Most pots, particularly the larger ones, can show a great variety of surface colour implying an unstable firing process in which heat and oxygen were apt to vary.

Fig. 4 illustrates six profiles from Pit 1 representing the five most common vessel forms, Nos. 1-2 are cooking pots (CP), No. 3 a hybrid form between a cooking-pot and a bowl (CP/B), and No. 4 a peat-pot (PP), so named because it is assumed that its wide base was designed to obtain maximum heat from the slow-burning peat-fuelled fires used in this area. No. 5 is a dish (D) and No. 6 a bowl (B). Fig. 5 shows a selection of the less-common vessel forms again from Pit 1, No. 7 is a straight-sided bowl, Nos. 8-9 are large cooking-pots, each with applied, thumbed, strips of clay along the outside to re-enforce the body wall. Nos. 10-11 are curfews (CW), or fire-covers, basically inverted bowls with vents and a handle (No. 11) on the upper surface. No. 12 is an applied spout from an unknown vessel form, No. 13 is a pipkin (P), which is a small cooking-pot form with a lip and handle (this example, like others from these sites, was unglazed). No. 14 is a small pot of unknown function, while Nos. 15-18 are jug fragments. Staxton-ware jugs are fairly unusual, mostly of poor quality manufacture and glaze, with handles that were generally smoothed on with two external thumbings at both upper and lower attachments. The upper handle attachment of No. 15 was unusual in that it was plugged into the neck of the vessel.

The table below attempts to show the numbers of each vessel form to be recognised from Potter Brompton. Like similar tables for Staxton, they include only those sherds, mostly rims, whose form can be reliably identified. Body sherds and base sherds have consequently been largely ignored. As such, these tables can only provide only a rough guide to the various vessel proportions. Only the five pit groups are considered here, the rest of the assemblage being essentially unstratified.

Identifiable Vessel Forms

Location	CP	Bowl	CP/B	Peat Pot	Curfew	Dish	Pipkin	Jug
Pit 5	46	9	42	—	3	—	1	2
Pit 4	130	17	152	35	2	—	4	3
Pit 3	24	—	19	5	—	—	—	—
Pit 2	3	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
Pit 1	498	49	375	39	6	3	41	5

The table above shows that cooking-pots and cooking-pot/bowls were the dominant vessel product. Peat-pots were present in all groups save that from Pit 5, and here the proportion of bowl forms had increased slightly, as if in compensation.

Diameters of cooking-pots and cooking-pot/bowls from all groups.

Vessel	16	18	20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	cms
CP	4	57	128	160	39	13	8	3	2	2	1	1	2	4	1	1	
CP/B	—	2	11	27	50	87	147	66	44	25	15	6	4	1	1	1	
B	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	5	6	12	12	4	
PP	—	—	—	2	2	4	11	1	3	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	

The sample of this second table is smaller because it was based on those rim



Fig. 4. Potter Brompton: Pit 1 - Major Forms.

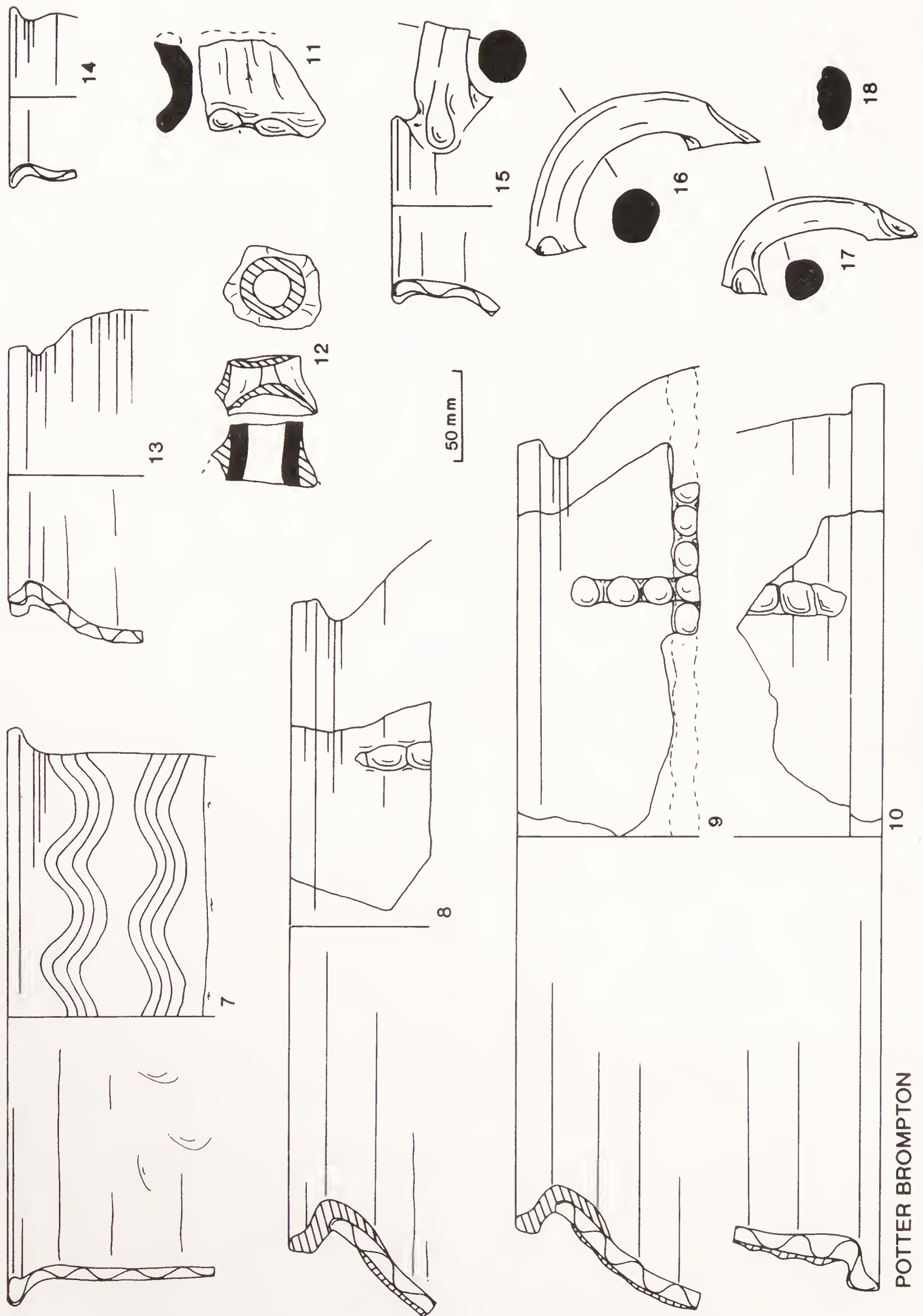


Fig. 5. Potter Brompton: Pit 1 - Minor Forms.

fragments large enough to be of certain diameter. It suggests that although both cooking-pots and cooking-pot bowls had their preferred rim diameters, this itself was not necessarily a determinant of form.

#### Pit 1 (Figs. 4, 5 and 7)

For most vessel forms, the predominant rim form was squared with a pronounced internal lid seating, seen best on Fig. 4 No 3, although, as Fig. 7 shows, there was a wide variety of other rim forms. As a class, jug rims differed (No. 15). Most vessels from this group showed extensive signs of hand-finishing, particularly on their inner surfaces. Decoration was restricted to the occasional combed wavy line; these were essentially plain, functional vessels.

#### Pits 2-5, 1954 Excavations, (Figs. 6 and 7)

(Fig. 6: Pit 2 = Nos. 25, 21; Pit 5 = Nos. 26, 30; with the remainder from Pit 4)

In many respects the vessels from Pits 4 and 5 were very similar to those of Pit 1. There were, however, a number of squared rims with much less pronounced lid seatings (Fig. 7). Peat-pot No. 25 had a hole (maybe more than one) in the lower body which had been pushed through before firing. From Pit 4 and various of the 1953/54 trenches came sherds of a Proto-Humberware jug (No. 31).

#### c: Discussion

Brewster believed that the larger of these pits (Pits 1, 4 and 5) were pit-kilns where the stacked pottery had been covered with peat and then left to burn slowly for several days, the falling ash gently cooling the pots. However, although some of the pits did indeed contain traces of ash and reddened soil deposits, there was no convincing evidence that any of them were used as kilns. There were no wasters *in situ*, no trace of flues or kiln structure, and no indications of heavily burnt sides or floors to these pits. In addition, only a few sherds were sufficiently overfired to produce firing cracks. However, this type of heavily sand-tempered pottery, fired at relatively low temperatures, would probably have been less susceptible to 'wasting' than other, contemporary, kilns firing to higher temperatures, such as Doncaster, Hallgate (Buckland et al, 1979). There would also have been inherent difficulties in firing pottery such as this in pit-kilns, a topic pursued in the discussion section.

Potter Brompton was clearly a centre of pottery production during the medieval period, although it is unclear how many other plots or tenements within the village were also engaged in pottery manufacture. The date-range of this present group of wasters is uncertain. In terms of vessel range and vessel form, the material from Pits 4 and 5 seem very similar and may suggest a different, possibly later, date to that from Pit 1. The proto-Humberware jug (No. 31) from Pit 4 and elsewhere, was of a type characteristic of the early 13th. century (Hayfield, 1985).

### C) STAXTON

#### 1: DEAN'S SITE

##### a: Excavations

Excavation took place over three days in April 1957 in the back garden of 'Dean's House', the plot immediately adjacent to the eastern side of the Hare and Hounds Public House (Fig. 3b). Two adjoining trenches were excavated (Fig. 9a), each revealing part of the same large pit. The pit had a fairly broad, flat bottom, some 2.5 m east-west and at least 2.5 m north-south, which lay about 1.7 m below the modern turf level, and at least 0.85 m below the medieval turf level. The sides of the pit would seem to have been cut at about 45° from the vertical. Its lowest levels comprised various

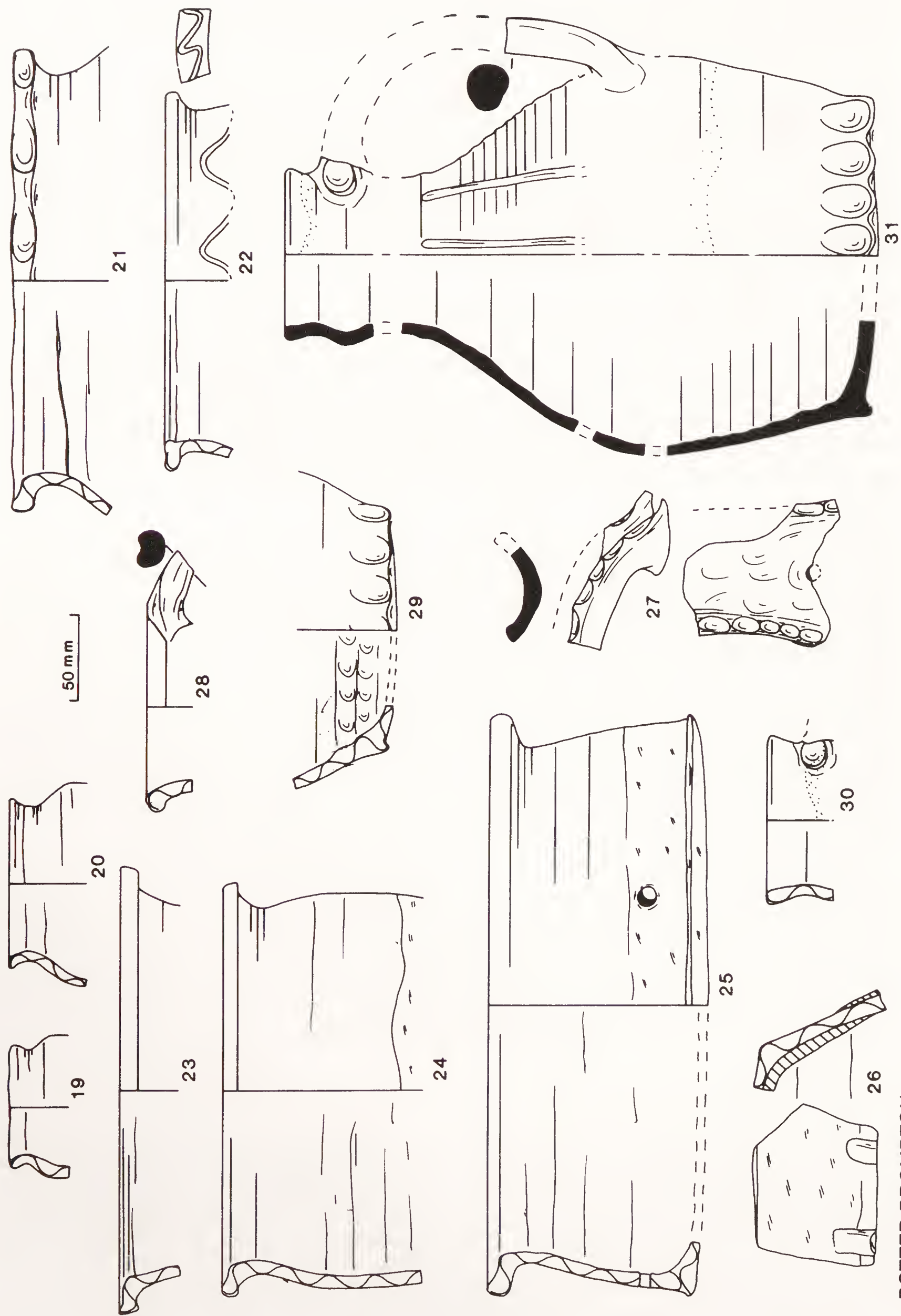


Fig. 6. Potter Brompton: Pits 2-5 - Miscellaneous.

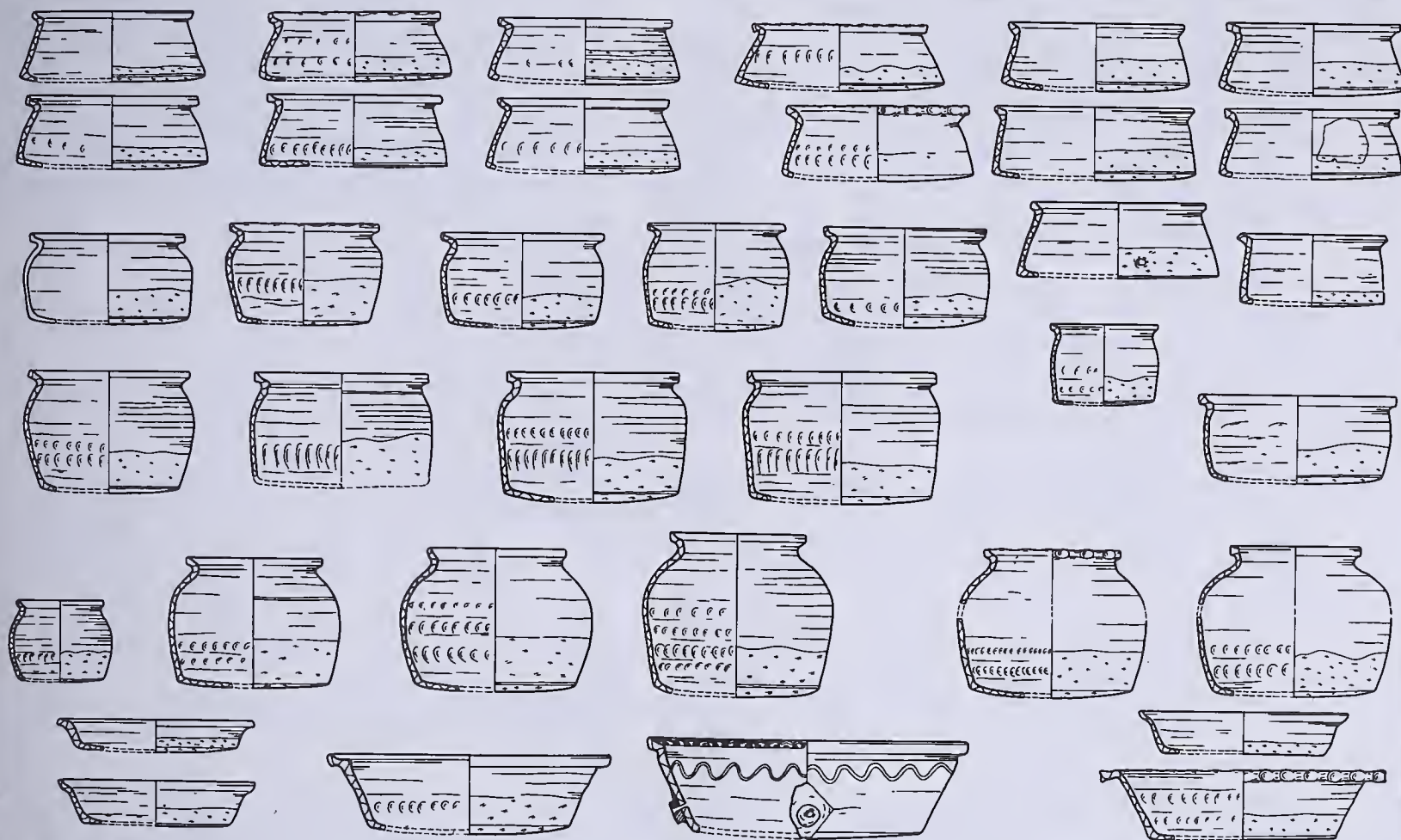


Fig. 7. Potter Brompton: Vessel forms.

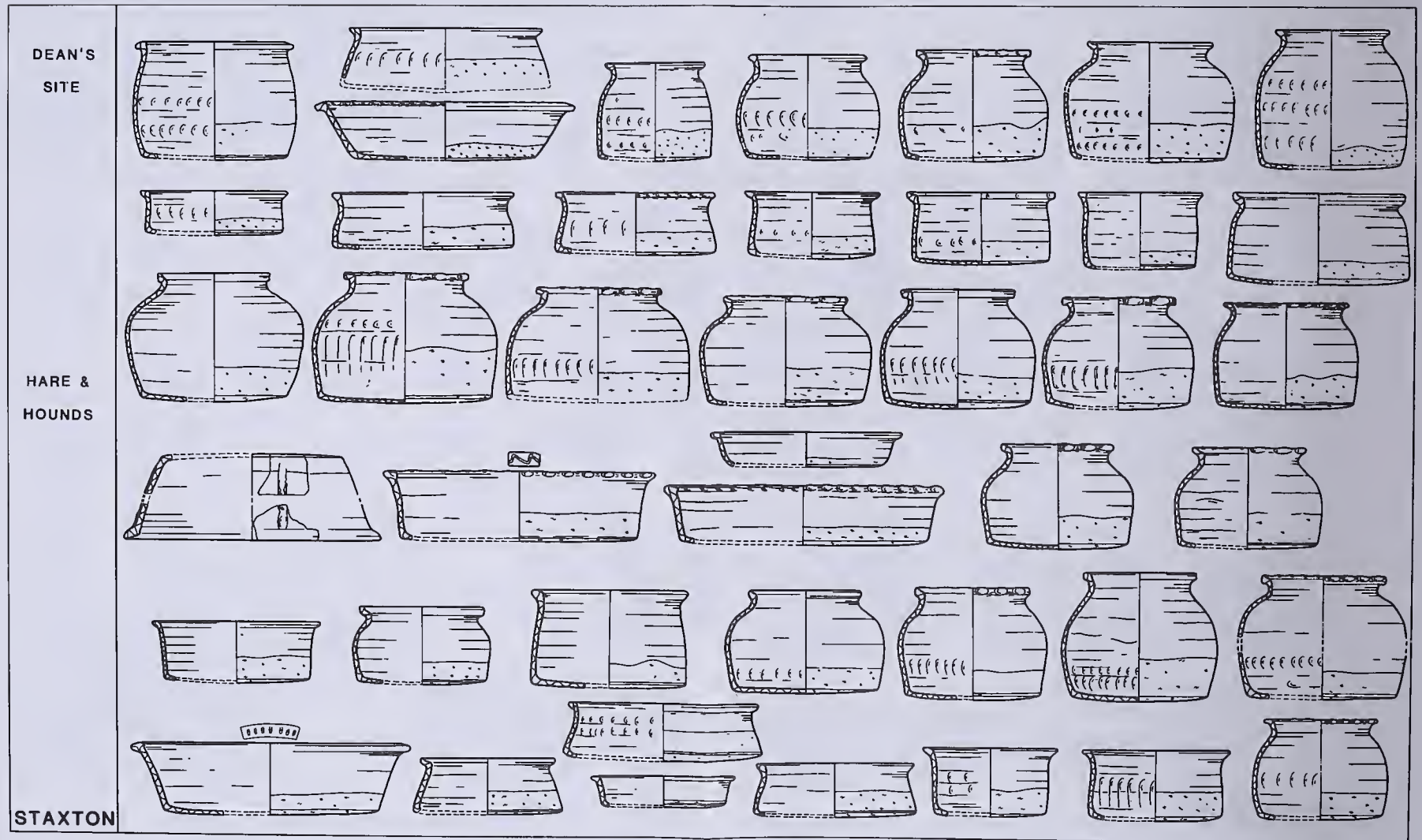


Fig. 8. Staxton: Vessel forms.

lenses of what was described as yellow ash and black ash, interspersed with lenses of grey to pale grey soil. The principal lower fill which sealed these lenses was described as ‘peat ash’ and was some 0.7 - 0.8 m thick.. A sketch of the section through this pit suggests that the lower lens-like fills of ash and soil had been tipped into the pit. There was no indication of any burning to the sides and bottom of the pit.

b: Pottery (Fig. 10)

The pottery was divided into three broad groups, a tiny group of material just above the base of the pit, the second, and largest, was the main fill, whilst the third consisted of bags of pot labelled as ‘C+A Dig’ without further explanation. As the material from all three ‘groups’ seemed almost identical it has been considered together.

Identifiable Vessel Forms (based on rims and other diagnostic sherds)					
Cooking-Pot	Bowl	CP/Bowl	Peat Pot	Dish	Curfew
122	10	11	4	2	1

A selection of complete profiles has been included in Fig 8, while a selection of rims and other forms is illustrated in Fig 10. The bulk of the vessels from this site were cooking-pots whose diameters fell into two groups, the first ranging from 18-22 cms. and the other from 26-32 cms. There was a single example of a large cooking-pot (unillustrated) with a diameter of 42 cms. Most rims were of fairly simple type, both rounded and squared, about half having a shallow lid-seating (No. 36). Thumbled ‘pie-crusting’ to the rims occurred occasionally (No. 32). There were a smaller number of cooking-pot / bowls (No. 40) whose rim diameters ranged between 26 cms. and 32 cms.

c: Discussion

All vessels were coil-built and wheel-finished, using the standard Staxton-type coarse sandy fabric. The degree of wheel-finishing, varied, but generally it was minimal and confined to the rim and upper body of the outer surface. Several vessels, particularly the larger cooking-pots and cooking-pot / bowls, had a horizontal row of shoulder thumbings (No. 37). Decoration was restricted to rim thumbing (No. 36) and occasional notched or impressed designs on the flat upper rim surfaces (No. 37). The curfew sherd (No. 43) had traces of applied vertical thumbled strips.

The fairly simple forms and rims compare broadly with the vessels from the Hare and Hounds groups and contrast with the larger, more angular rims of the other Staxton assemblages. There was no internal dating evidence. Typologically, this could be argued to be the earliest group of material from Staxton. Given the lack of evidence, any dating is essentially speculation, but purely on the basis of their vessel forms, a date range somewhere in the second half of the twelfth century or early thirteenth century might be expected.

2: STAXTON: BOYTHORPE SITE

a: Excavations

This material was recovered in 1953 from within the grounds of Boythorpe Engineering Works at the back of the Hare and Hounds Public House at Staxton (Fig. 3b), part of the same site as ‘Stephenson’s Works’ (below). There were no plans, notes or other information to indicate how this pottery was derived.

b: Pottery (Fig. 11)

Unlike other material from Staxton, most sherds were small in size and it seems likely that this was all disturbed surface material.

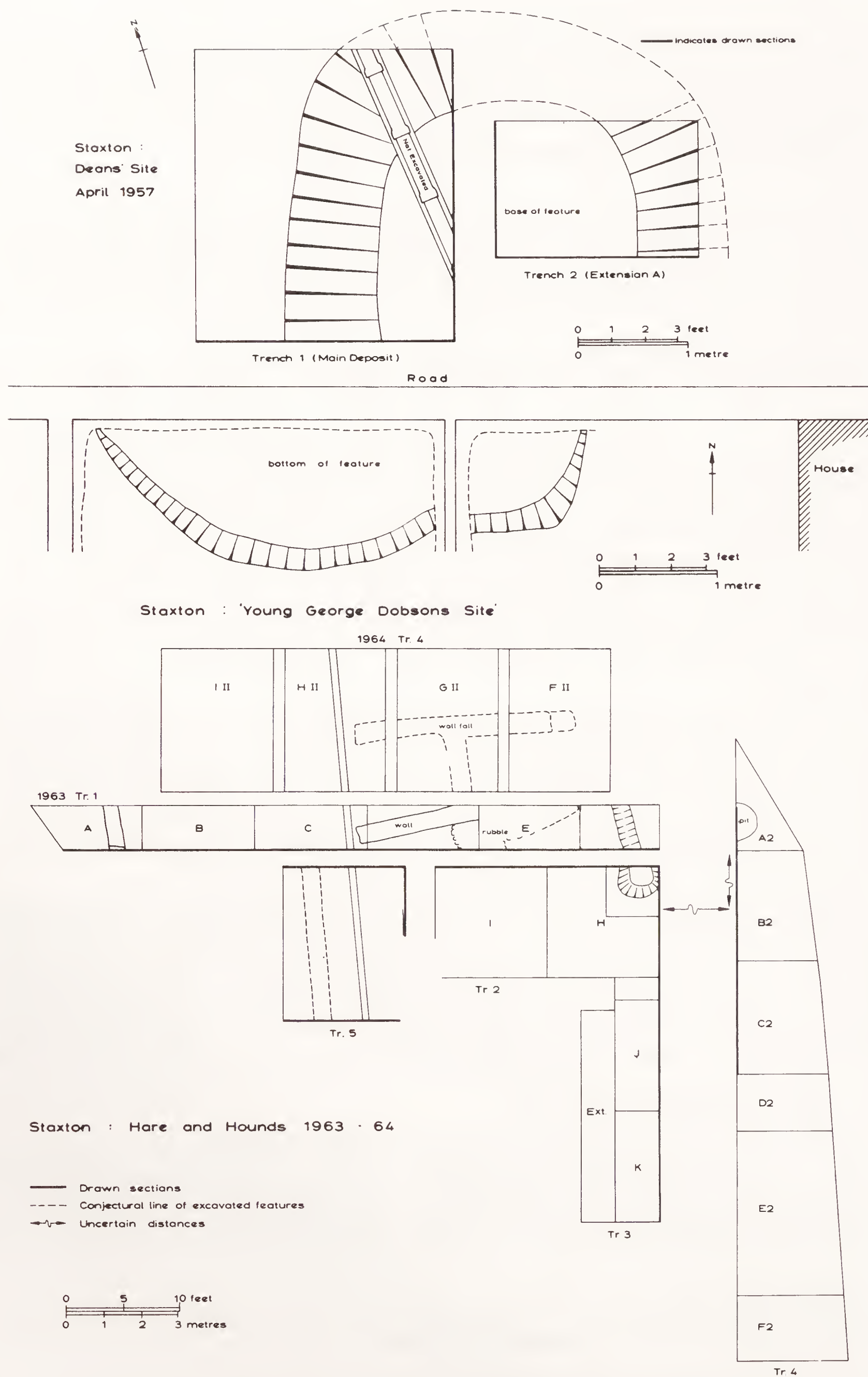


Fig. 9. Staxton: plans of Dean's, Young George Dobson's and Hare and Hounds Sites.

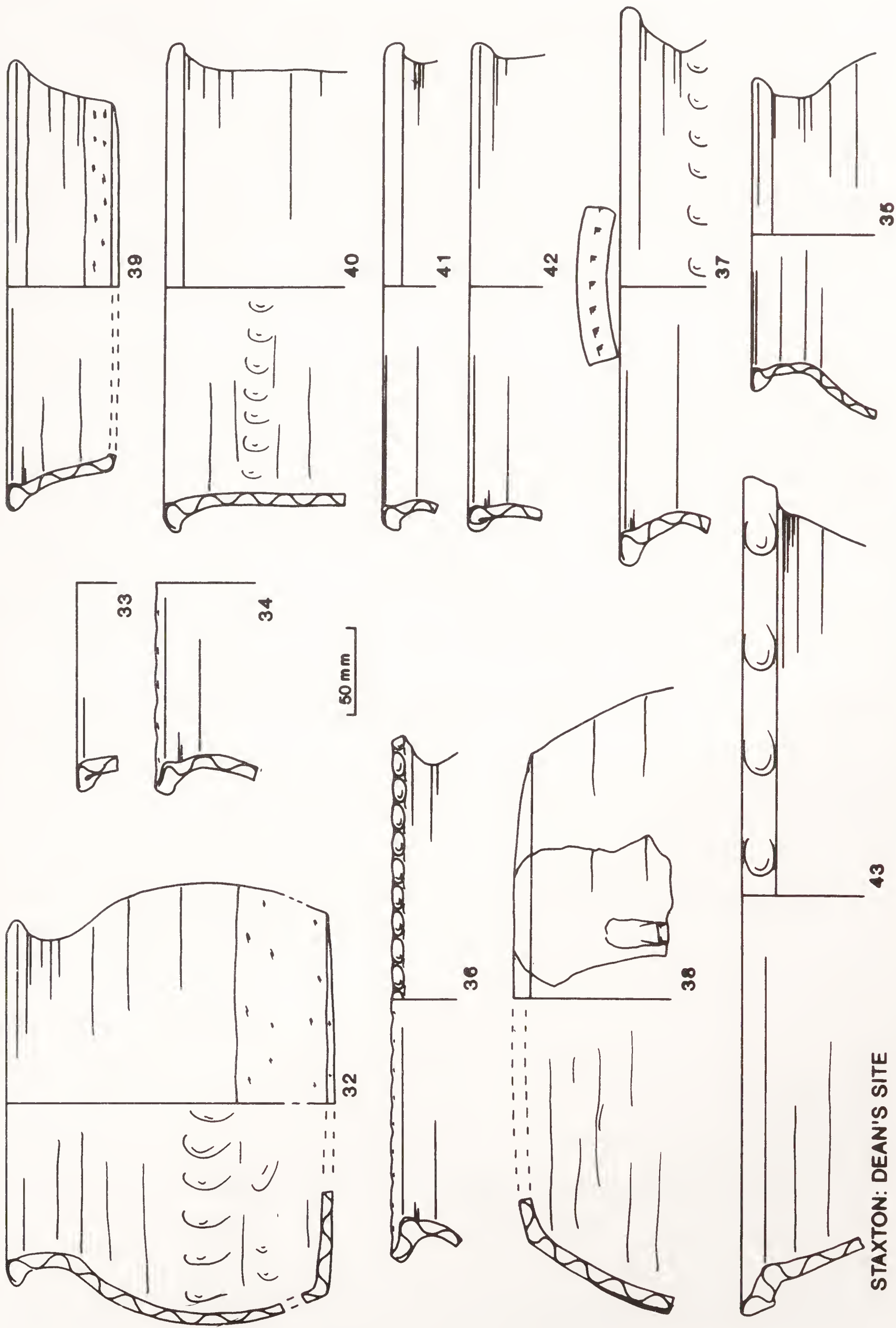
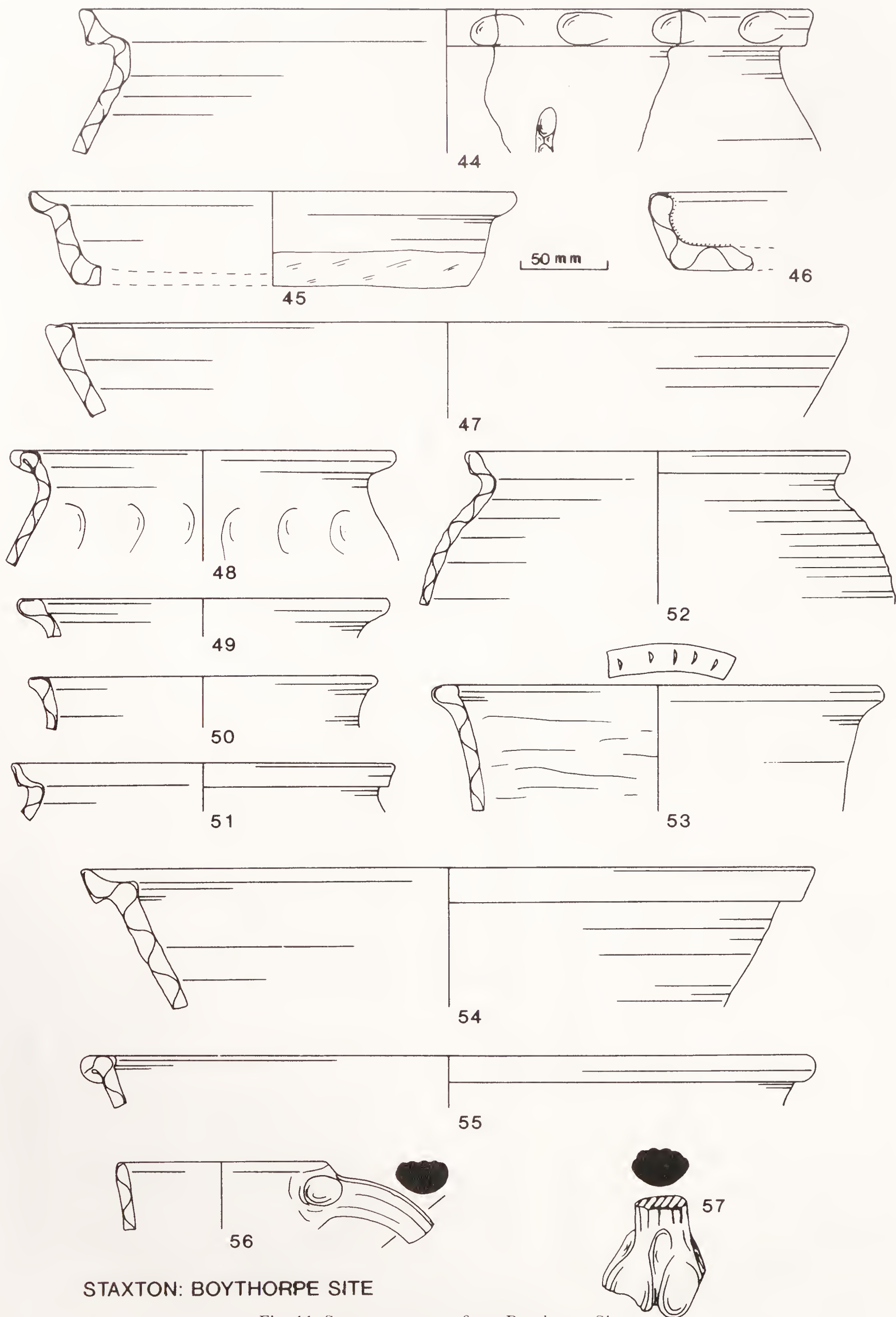


Fig. 10. Staxton: pottery from Dean's Site.



STAXTON: BOYTHORPE SITE

Fig. 11. Staxton: pottery from Boythorpe Site.

Identifiable Vessel Forms

Cooking-pot	Bowl	Dish	Basting-Dish	Jugs
14	12	1	2	5

Two types of cooking-pot rim were apparent, occurring in roughly equal proportions, a small clubbed type without a lid seating (No. 49), and a more angular type with a pronounced lid seating (No. 51). Three bowl rim types could be identified; clubbed (No. 54), angular (No. 55) and plain (No. 47). A small bowl (No. 53) occurred whose basic form and hand-finished construction suggests it may be residual. Both dish No. 45 and basting-dish No. 46 were of simple construction, the latter being poorly glazed on its inner surface. Some five jug fragments were found, No. 56 having a plugged upper handle attachment.

c: Discussion

All the pottery from this assemblage was in the standard Staxton type coarse sandy fabric and vessels were coil built. Most vessel surfaces were wheel-finished; only one or two vessels having hand-finished inner surfaces. The glazes were typical of those from Staxton; thick, nasty, and heavily corroded. Although this was only a small group its forms do contrast with those from Dean’s site and the Hare and Hounds site. There were no peat-pots or cooking-pot / bowls, but there were basting-dishes and bowls. The proportion of bowls was also markedly higher. The two basic forms, cooking-pots and bowls, seem more standardised in their shape and size, with more uniformity of rim type. This might suggest that this material is later in date than that from the Hare and Hounds and Dean’s site. This suggestion is further supported by the jug forms, whose simple rims, grooved oval handles and plugged upper handle attachments invite comparison with regional jug forms of the later thirteenth century.

3: STAXTON: YOUNG GEORGE DOBSON’S SITE

a: Excavations

This site fronted on to the ‘main road’ through Staxton immediately next to the house of ‘Young George Dobson’ (in fact then the oldest inhabitant) on the south side of the main street (Fig. 3b). Excavation took place on the 24th of March, 1967, some salvage work having occurred the previous day, revealing one edge of a large, deep, irregularly shaped pit, which seemed to have extended under the present road surface (Fig. 9b). Within this pit, sherds were recorded as coming from a layer of ‘bright red peat ash’, and from a ‘layer of blackish burnt / ash’.

b: Pottery (Fig. 12)

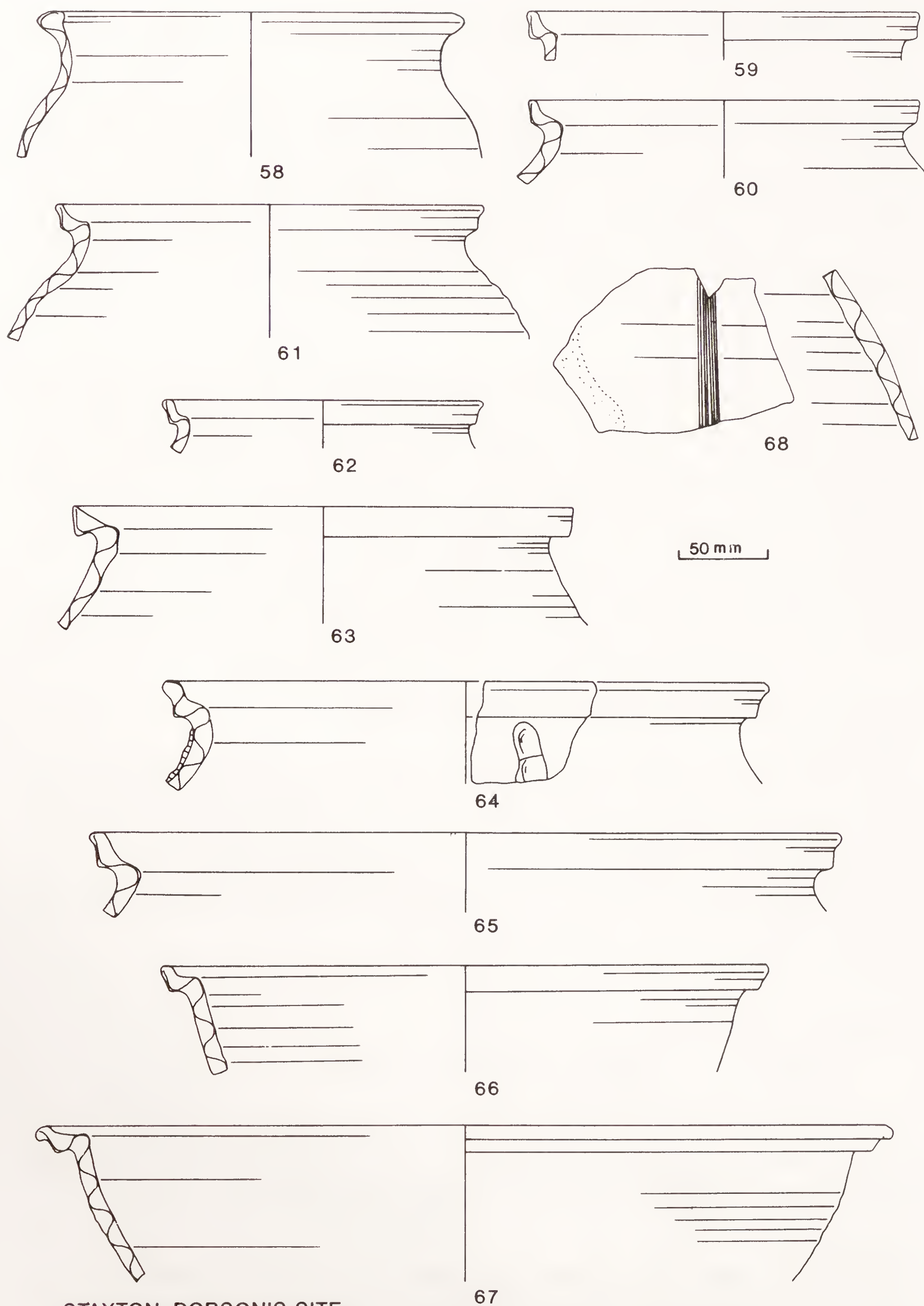
Identifiable Vessel Forms

Cooking-pot	Bowl	Curfew	Jugs
135	27	1	1

Almost all the cooking-pot and bowl rims were of a single type; angular with a pronounced lid seating (No. 63). There was only one rounded cooking-pot rim (No. 58), and this may be residual, being found at the very bottom of the pit.

c: Discussion

This seems a much more coherent and cohesive assemblage of material than that found, for example, on the Boythorpe site. All the pottery was in the standard Staxton ware coarse sandy fabric, and all were coil-built and fully wheel-finished, with no



## STAXTON: DOBSON'S SITE

Fig. 12. Staxton: pottery from Young George Dobson's Site.

evidence of hand-finished surfaces. The cooking-pot rims fall into two size ranges, a standard size, 18-22 cms, and a larger size, 26-34 cms. One rim form clearly predominates, contrasting with the variety from the other Staxton assemblages. There would also appear to be a greater uniformity in overall form, with almost all the identifiable sherds belonging to one of three basic vessel forms: standard cooking-pot, large cooking-pot, and bowl.

4: STAXTON: STEPHENSON’S WORKS SITE

a: Excavations

There are no plans or sketches to provide a precise location for this site, but a note on one of the finds bags states that it was ‘Due north of Hare and Hounds’. Local residents recall that this was part of the same site as the ‘Boythorpe Site’ catalogued above (Fig. 3b). There were probably no formal excavations here, the finds labels, dated 1953, suggesting that it was essentially salvage work on another pit feature.

b: Pottery (Fig. 13)

The pottery from this site divides into three groups, the first (Group 1), reputedly a “sealed deposit-kiln wall”, secondly material from within the feature itself (Group 2), and finally (Group 3), unstratified material gathered from the vicinity of the feature. It would seem that the majority of body sherds had been discarded.

Identifiable Vessel Forms

Location	CP	B	PP	Dish	CW	BD	CN	Lid	MG	Urinal	Jug
Group 1	17	4	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	10
Group 2	24	10	2	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	4
Group 3	120	50	6	—	7	—	1	1	1	1	41

A selection of forms from this site are illustrated on Fig. 13. Nos. 75, 81-83 come from Group 1, Nos. 70,71, 73, 78, 84 from Group 2, and Nos. 69, 72, 76, 77, 79 and 80 from Group 3.

Groups 1 and 2 contained the widest diversity of Staxton ware vessel forms of any from Staxton village. Three basic cooking-pot rim forms were recognised in approximately equal numbers; rounded / clubbed (No. 69), squared with lid seating (No. 70), and simple everted. There were two basic bowl rims, a squared type with pronounced lid seating (No. 73), and a simple, plain form (No. 74). Although several curfew fragments were found, their numbers are likely to be understated in the table above, because only those angle fragments with vents cut in could be positively distinguished from bowl sherds. The peat-pots seem a little out of place amongst the rest of the assemblage and suggest a residual element. There were a number of other minor coarseware forms represented, small bowls or dishes (No. 75), and an unidentified form (No. 78).

Group 3 (Unstratified) contained a relatively large number of jugs, usually with traces of a poor glaze. Their rims were simple, with oval shaped handles, often ribbed, which generally had plugged upper attachments. Jug rim (No. 80), an unusually high-quality product with a bright, clear olive-green glaze, had a decorative stamped design popular on other Yorkshire finewares. A cistern (No. 79), drinking-mug (No. 76) and a urinal (No. 77) made up the range of recognised ‘fineware’ forms, although the thick walls, coarse fabric, and crude appearance of these vessels mocked their theoretical ‘fineware’ status. The inner surface of the urinal (No. 77) had a residue of brown-buff salts. Group 3 contained several ‘regional strays’ including a twelfth-century orangeware jug sherd and ten Humberware sherds.

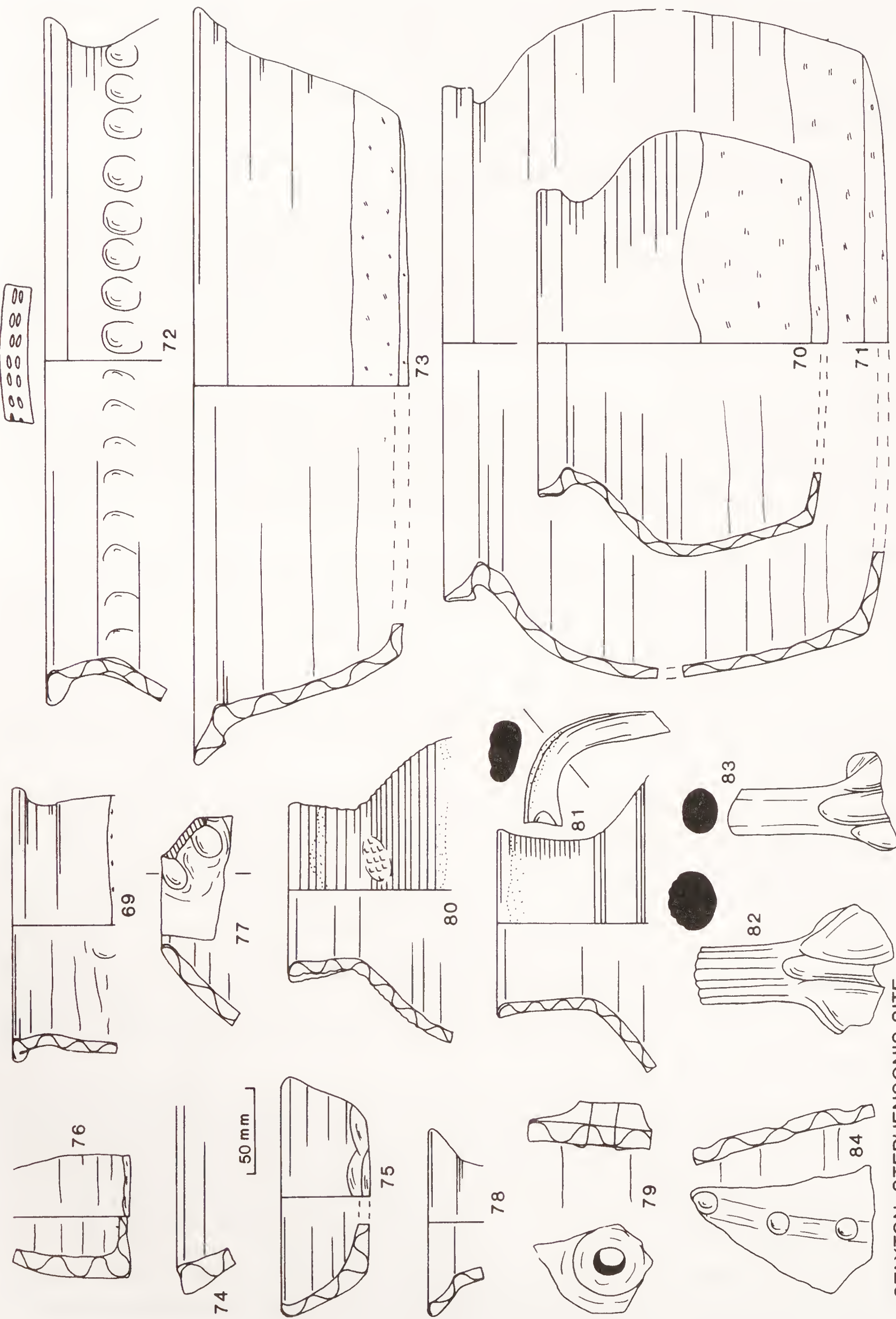


Fig. 13. Staxton: pottery from Stephenson's Works Site.

STAXTON: STEPHENSON'S SITE

## c: Discussion

Although there was some mixed material amongst the unstratified group, this was generally a cohesive looking assemblage that may have derived from a pit fill. All the Staxton-type sherds were in the familiar coarse sandy fabric, and all vessels were coil built. Most were fully wheel-finished, although some of the larger vessels showed signs of hand-finishing, particularly on their inner surfaces. The range of rim forms was generally similar to those from the Boythorpe assemblage. The presence of a number of jug forms allows some speculation as to the date of this assemblage, as handle forms such as No. 82 paralleled regional jug forms of the late thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (Hayfield 1985). A fourteenth-century or later date would also be appropriate for the cistern, drinking-mug and urinal forms which, although starting to occur in the thirteenth century, became regionally more common during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (*ibid.*).

## 5: STAXTON: HARE AND HOUNDS PUBLIC HOUSE SITE

## a: Excavations

These excavations took place in the yard at the back of the Hare and Hounds Public House (Fig. 3b). There were six trenches, excavated over thirty-three days in four short seasons during 1963 and 1964.

The series of notebooks kept during this work were almost entirely devoted to the three-dimensional recording of selected finds. Only occasionally did they provide any clues as to the size and location of the trenches and features within them. More fundamentally, Brewster seems to have made no basic site plan to show the various positions of the trenches he dug. Salvation was at hand in the form of log books made by two of the junior school children working on the site. They include sketches showing the plans and dimensions of most of the trenches and their relative positions. Using these, Fig. 9c attempts to reconstruct a site plan. Many of the ditch, pit and wall features have been sketched on from photographs (shown by hatched lines), while the dimensions and position of Trench 4 remain uncertain.

*A Malton Gazette* report in June 1963, recorded:—

‘The foundations of a medieval building under a chicken run adjoining the Hare and Hounds Inn at Staxton are being uncovered by 15 members of the British Junior Naturalists Association under the supervision of Mr. T. C. M. Brewster. ... The children, aged from 9 to 16, are from various parts of the country, ...’

It is appropriate at this juncture to discuss some of the basic site interpretations made at this time by Brewster. Principal amongst these was his identification of a potter’s workshop. The *Malton Gazette* report continued, quoting Brewster thus;

‘We have established that the building was put up after 1250 and abandoned about the end of 1390. It might well be that it was connected with the potteries and was the actual potting shed. It is too near the site of the kilns to be the remains of medieval houses. Sparks from the kilns would have set fire to the thatched roofs.’

Traces of two walls were found in Trench 1 (Fig. 9c) and these were the only two to be planned. An area of wallfall was shown on a note-book sketch plan of Trench 6, and wallfall deposits were also recorded from Trench 4, but not planned. There was no evidence to indicate that any of these walls related to buildings, let alone forming part of a single structure. However, quite a number of the Hare and Hounds pots were burnt and sooted on their outer surfaces and several cooking-pots contained white, probably uritic salts deposits on their inner surfaces. Combined with a number of

animal bones, including cod bones and barnacle shells, this does suggest some form of 'occupation' in this area as opposed to pottery production, although the waster pit at Stephenson's Works lay only a few hundred metres to the north.

b: Pottery (Figs. 14-15)

The limited recording meant that despite its size, this assemblage could only be divided in to a small number of basic phases. The largest of which included all those finds marked as 'topsoil' or 'layer below topsoil' (listed in the tables below as 'General') from all six trenches which should be regarded as unstratified. A second phase was distinguished as those sherds coming from 'wallfall' deposits. A third general layer was identified and described as 'Old Turf Line' or 'Below Peat Ash Layer'. Finally, pottery from any identifiable features or layers has been listed separately.

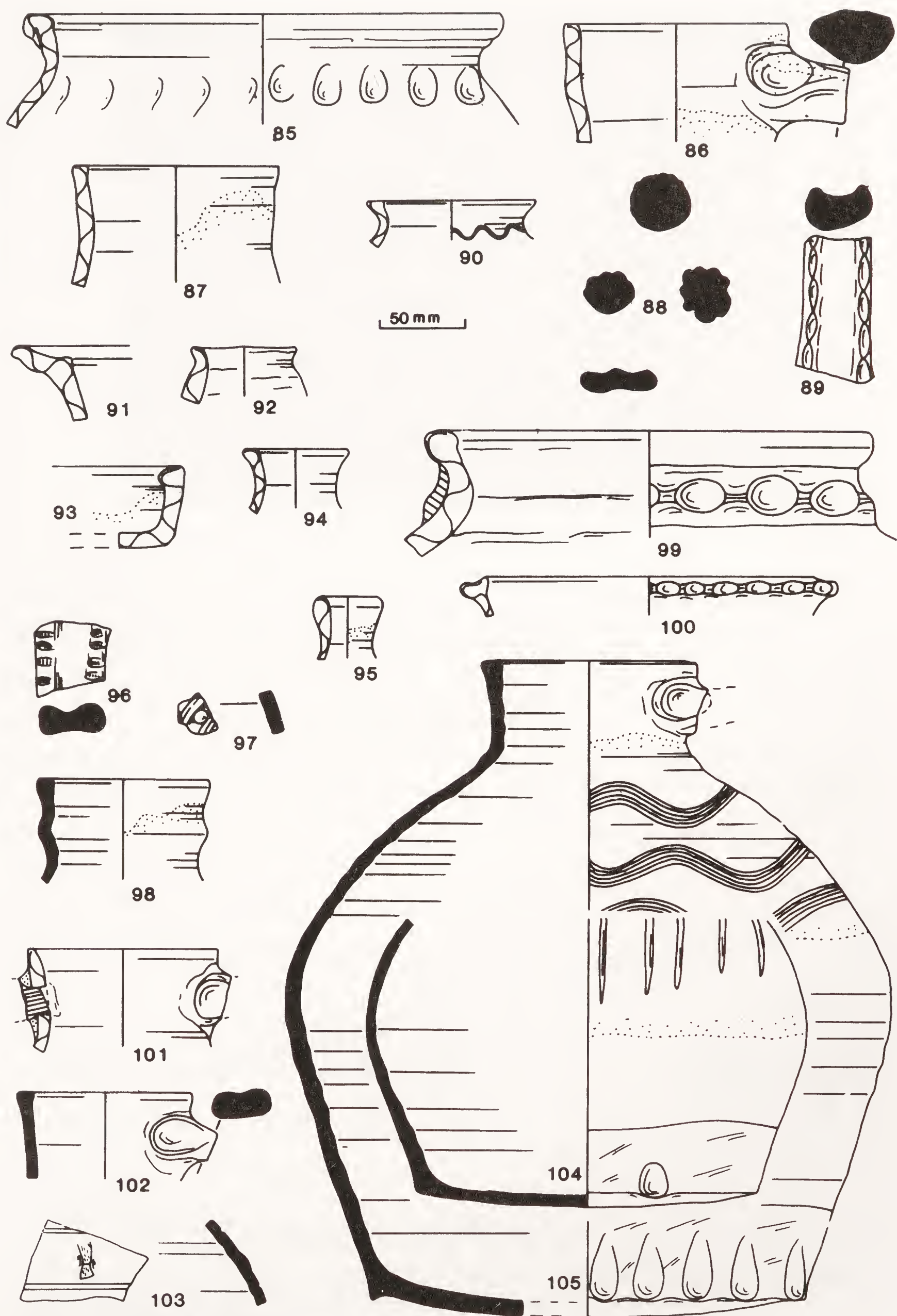
Identifiable Staxton Ware Vessel Forms

Location	CP	B	PP	CW	P	Dish	Jug	Sherd
Trench 1 : General	224	13	13	—	—	—	6	1612
: 'Workshop'	73	5	7	—	—	1	1	105
: Below Peat Ash	37	2	2	—	—	—	—	141
Trench 2 : General	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	35
Trench 3 : General	29	—	—	—	—	—	6	3
: Old Turf Line	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
Trench 4 : General	225	7	18	1	—	—	5	1656
: Pit in Sect A2	19	5	—	—	—	—	—	91
Trench 5 : General	67	2	1	—	—	—	1	222
Trench 6 : General	318	14	21	2	—	—	14	2191
: Wallfall	257	11	11	2	1	—	1	1642
: Peat Ash	15	1	—	1	1	—	—	90
: Above Subsoil	9	1	1	1	—	—	—	75
: Below Floor Level	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	7
Totals	1293	61	65	7	2	1	34	7901

Total Fabric Composition

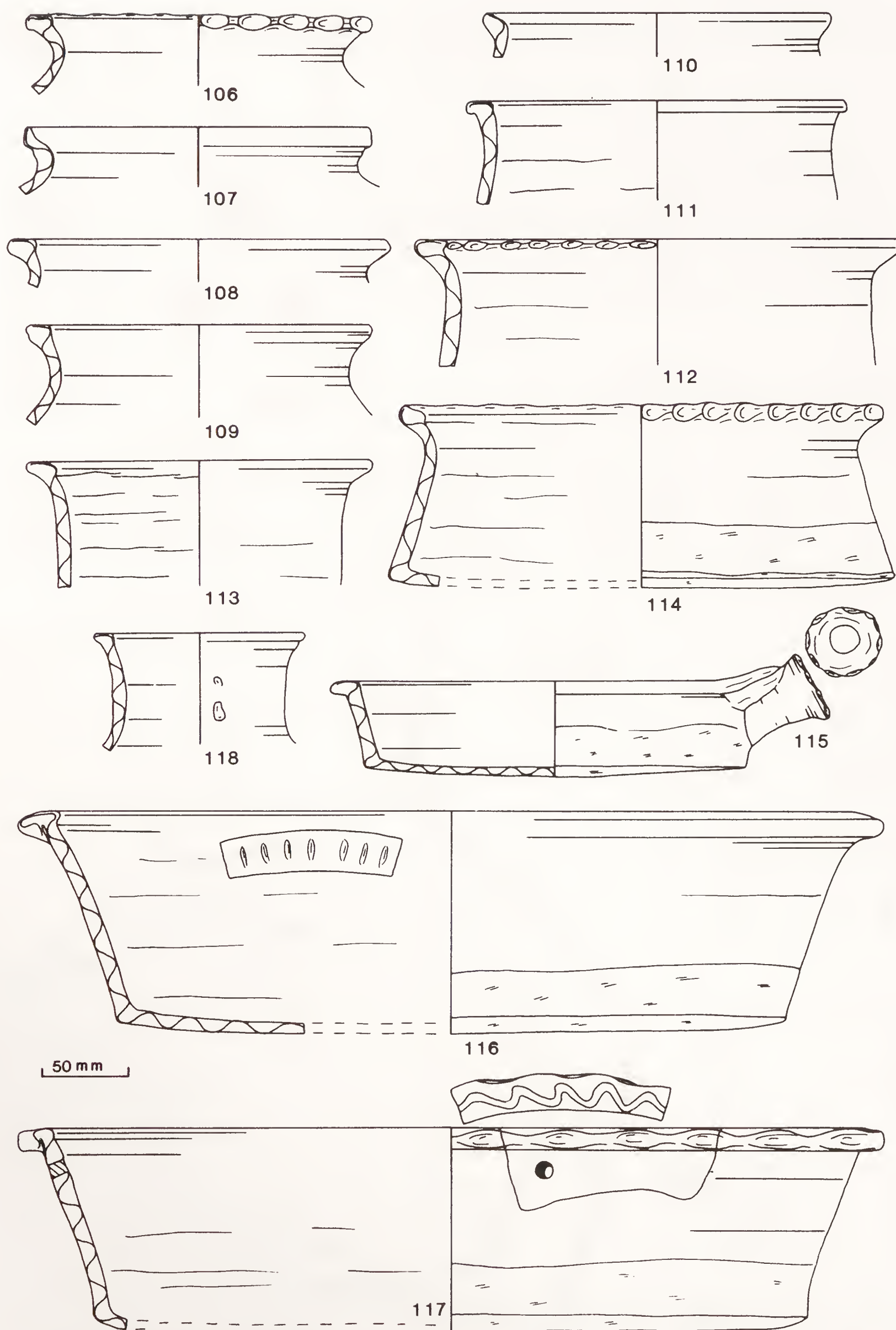
	Roman	Staxton	Scarb1	Scarb2	White	H1	H2	PM
Trench 1 : General	—	1868	2	23	11	2	17	2
: 'Workshop'	—	192	—	2	2	—	—	—
: Below Peat Ash	—	182	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trench 2 : General	—	49	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trench 3 : General	—	38	—	4	—	—	1	1
: Old Turf Line	—	33	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trench 4 : General	—	1912	—	1	—	—	1	1
: Pit in Sect A2	—	115	—	—	—	—	—	—
Trench 5 : General	—	293	1	4	1	—	7	1
Trench 6 : General	2	2560	—	17	7	1	17	2
: Wallfall	2	1925	—	27	—	—	31	1
: Peat Ash	—	108	—	—	—	—	—	—
: Above Subsoil	—	87	—	—	—	—	—	—
: Below Floor Level	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—

(Scarb1 = Scarborough 1 fabric (Farmer 1979); White = Whitewares; H1 = Smooth Humberwares (Hayfield 1985); H2 = Humberwares (Mayes and Hayfield 1980); PM = Post-medieval wares).



STAXTON: HARE & HOUNDS

Fig. 14. Staxton: pottery from Hare and Hounds Site.



## STAXTON: HARE &amp; HOUNDS

Fig. 15. Staxton: pottery from 'Workshop Area', Hare and Hounds Site.



Plate 2. Staxton: Hare and Hounds Site.

The bulk of the illustratable pottery came from the unstratified 'General' material whose many reconstructible profiles have been included on Fig. 8 at 1/8th scale. Fig. 14 represents the more unusual forms from this material. Nos. 86-89 are jug fragments, No. 90 a pipkin, No. 91 a possible mortar rim, No. 92 a crucible, No. 93 a basting dish, No. 94 a urinal rim, and No. 95 a lid spout. Nos. 96-98 are pots from other kiln sources. No. 96 was from a late twelfth-century Hallgate 'B' jug from Doncaster, No. 97 a possible York Ware jug, and No. 98 a Humberware jug rim of the late thirteenth-century. A selection of the wallfall and other semi-stratified material is also included on Fig. 14. Of these vessels, Nos. 102-104 are from Scarborough (II) jugs, probably of the late thirteenth century, while drawing No. 105 represents over 90 sherds from a Humberware jug, probably of the late fourteenth century. This jug had a thick white salts deposit on its inner surface.

Brewster identified a group of pottery as being from, a 'Workshop Area'. Sadly there was no evidence that there was a workshop here, or even on which side of any of the walls of Fig. 9c an occupation deposit was identified. As a group (Fig. 15) it is fairly unremarkable, containing a range of cooking-pots, cooking-pot / bowls, bowls and, at least one peat-pot. The only vessel of intrinsic interest was No. 115, a spouted dish, the channel through the spout passing through into the dish and being smoothed down; it had clearly been designed for pouring out from the dish. Like the topsoil material, a large proportion of these vessels showed evidence of sooting and fire-blackening. Again this was probably pottery which had been used in a domestic situation, rather than wasters, even though most of it may indeed have been manufactured within a stone's throw of the site.

#### c: Discussion

All Hare and Hounds vessels were coil built and partially wheel-finished, although most vessels were left heavily hand-finished on their lower bodies. There seems to be little meaningful difference between the rim and general form types amongst the various 'groups' outlined above. Small squared rims were the most popular, several

with pronounced lid seatings, but the dominant rim type lacked a clear lid seating. Rounded clubbed rim types were also common. It seems possible that there might be some chronological distinction between clubbed rims and lid-seated rims as the lower peat-ash groups, turf-line groups and pit groups contained very few lid-seated rims. There were exceptions, and such typological judgements seem more convincing when comparing groups rather than individual vessels.

Almost all the pit, ditch or other features contained only Staxton wares, and it was only the wallfall and general deposits which contained any 'regional strays' that might give some indication of date. The earliest regional import was a sherd from a Doncaster, Hallgate B jug which came from the general deposits (No. 96). It was a small sherd, but this particular fabric probably had a fairly restricted lifespan during the second half of the twelfth-century (Buckland et al 1979). The wallfall deposits contained a few post-medieval sherds, but the general character of the material suggests that these were intrusive, and that the latest was Humberware, such as the large Humberware jug from Trench 6 wallfall material (No. 105). This vessel occurred with some later Scarborough products and suggests a possible date in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. Most of the 'occupation' material from this site predates these wallfall deposits. On this very slender evidence, it could be speculated that the bulk of this pottery falls between the late twelfth and the fourteenth century.

There was no evidence that pottery was ever produced within the area excavated nor that any structure here housed a potter or formed his workshop. It cannot even be demonstrated that any structures here were in occupation at the time pottery was being made in the vicinity. Instead, what there is here is a large and varied assemblage of Staxton-type pottery, mostly unstratified, but containing a number of reliable full profiles for most vessel forms, and a number of smaller sealed groups that hint at subtle chronological variations in forms and rim types. Typologically this assemblage seems similar to that from Dean's site, and therefore probably earlier than Stephenson's, Dobson's or the Boythorpe assemblages.

## 6: STAXTON ROAD SCHEME EXCAVATIONS

### a: Excavations

This work took place in advance of a new road diverting the A64 Scarborough road at the south-eastern end of Staxton village. The contractors for the East Riding County Council removed the topsoil from a 400 metre strip of land which was to be affected by the new roadway. A proton-magnetometer survey was undertaken which seemed to reveal an alignment of pits. Brewster was asked to conduct a series of excavations to investigate these features. He did this by laying out two series of parallel trenches along the entire 400m area which he proceeded to excavate between the 6th-21st December 1972. He seems to have left no site plan to show the position of the trenches or of any features within them. In the event it seems that few man-made features were located; the row of pits shown by magnetometer turned out to be a natural feature.

### b: Finds Material

Virtually all the finds were unstratified, and most pottery sherds were small with considerable signs of abrasion, and as such, are likely to have derived from manuring onto the arable fields from Staxton village. All the prehistoric material comprised flints except for one sherd from a Bronze Age Food Vessel. The assemblage comprised:

Prehist	Roman	Early-Med	High-Med	Late-Med	Post-Med	18th	19th
16	29	4	313	31	16	2	55

while the medieval pottery came from the following sources:

Early-Medieval		High-Medieval			Late-Medieval	
Gritty	Scarb 1	Scarb 2	Staxton	Whiteware	Smooth Humber	Humber
3	1	9	294	7	6	25

There were very few identifiable early-medieval (eleventh-twelfth century) sherds; the three gritty wares were cooking-pots, and the Scarborough 1 vessel was a jug. Of the high-medieval pottery (thirteenth-fourteenth century), the great bulk of the Staxton ware vessels were cooking-pots, with a lesser proportion of other coarseware forms such as dishes or curfews. There were only six Staxton ware jug forms. All the Scarborough wares and whiteware forms were jugs. Most of the late-medieval (fifteenth-sixteenth century) vessels were glazed finewares, the bulk jugs, but with several cisterns and other forms.

c: Discussion

The bulk of the material was medieval, although the assemblage stretched from the Bronze Age to the nineteenth century. Most were small, abraded sherds; probably manuring material.

D) ANALYSIS

The Pottery Fabric, Composition, and Firing

Geographically, Potter Brompton and Staxton offer easy access to local deposits of Speeton Clay and wind-blown sand, which combined with the availability of water and peat fuel, gave the potters every natural advantage for their craft. The resulting pottery was heavily sand-tempered, producing comparatively thick, rough-textured vessel walls. Brewster investigated two programmes of research into the ‘Staxton ware’ fabric. First was a laboratory comparison between the mineral composition of actual waster sherds and local deposits of clay and sand, the results of which are summarised below.

STAXTON WARE ANALYSIS by Hermann H. Zumpe.

‘An attempt was made to test the hypothesis that local sources of Speeton clay and of Pleistocene sands provided the raw materials for Staxton Ware pottery. An unfired sherd fragment of Staxton ware pot found at Potter Brompton was disaggregated by an ultrasonic probe. The resulting sand and clay fractions were analysed separately after wet sieving and sedimentation. One specimen of Speeton Clay, obtained from Knapton, was used to compare with the clay fraction of the pottery. A sample of sand from Staxton and one from Potter Brompton were compared with the sand fraction of the sherd fragment to decide which of these two possible sources of sand were used in Staxton Ware.’

‘The results of the laboratory tests strongly suggest that the raw materials used in the manufacture of Staxton ware pottery were obtained locally. The pottery clay appears to be practically identical with the Speeton clay from Knapton, except that an appreciable percentage of calcite is present in the former. This has probably been added to the potter’s clay intentionally, since it is unlikely to be a natural feature of the Speeton Clay on account of its inferred depositional environment. The sand again has very close similarities to local Pleistocene sands occurring at Staxton and at Potter Brompton.’

Secondly Brewster organised a series of firing experiments of the local Speeton clay and Staxton cover sand, varying both the temperature, and the proportions of sand

used. The controlled test firings were carried out in 1957 by a Mr. D. C. Bevis of Pocklington School using an electric kiln. A series of sixteen samples survive, four contained 10% sand, four 15% sand, four 20% sand and four 25% sand, one of each % was fired at 750°C, one at 855°C, one at 960°C and one at 1060°C. They appear to have been fired with free access to oxygen, for all are oxidised. Those fired at 750°C and 855°C were a brown-buff colour, while those fired at 960°C were orange and those at 1060°C a darker orange red. Those samples containing 25% sand were the most stable, that is to say they showed the least amount of distortion at all firing temperatures, and indeed, in terms of surface texture, it was these which most closely resembled the surface appearance of the excavated sherds. It was the samples fired at 855°C and 960°C which most closely approximated in colour to the bulk of the excavated sherds which were usually brown-buff or orange.

#### b: Manufacturing Techniques.

Convention has it that most post-Saxon English pottery was thrown on a potter's wheel (Hodges 1964). In fact, however, within the Yorkshire/Lincolnshire area, it can now be shown that most medieval coarsewares (at least until the fifteenth-century) were coil-built and then finished-off on a wheel (Hayfield 1980). Not surprisingly, given the thick sand-tempered nature of the Staxton wares, they almost invariably reveal evidence in their sections for coil construction. Many sherds also show convincing signs of hand-finishing, particularly on their inner surfaces where finger marks show where the clay had been drawn up to smooth out the coils before turning the vessel on a wheel. There were also several examples of folded rims, even applied rims which were added to the coil-built body. On being removed from the wheel, vessels were then knife-trimmed, and, where necessary, their outer surfaces wiped over.

It seems clear from the various assemblages here, that the earlier vessels showed a greater degree of hand-finishing, with turning marks confined to the rim, neck and upper bodies of the outer surface. Later, the degree of wheel-finishing increased to cover the entire inner and outer surfaces of the vessel. Although contemporary Scarborough potters, for example, were certainly employing a higher level of craftsmanship (Farmer 1979), and probably had a higher level of technology, they were manufacturing decorative table wares, while Staxton and Potter Brompton potters produced plain, utilitarian forms. The Humberwares, however, may have offered more direct competition because from their thirteenth-century origins, they were mostly wheel thrown, with only one or two of the largest and widest mouthed bowls showing signs of coil-construction (Hayfield 1985). Indeed, it may be that the eventual decline of Staxton ware was brought about, in part at least, by the inability of its potters to match the technological superiority of the Humberware industries.

#### c: The Evidence for Kilns

Excavations at both Potter Brompton and Staxton revealed a number of large pits which contained fills of 'peat' ash, burnt sand and pottery sherds. These Brewster interpreted as pit-kilns. In his interim report on Staxton ware he observed,

'All the pottery found had been loaded in simple pit kilns, cut in the sandy soil, and fuelled by carrland peat which had totally enclosed the vessels during the slow firing process' (1958, 446).

Brewster was aware that these 'pit-kilns' contrasted with the conventional types of medieval kilns with their firing chambers, stokeholes and flues (Musty 1974). His series of unpublished notes discussing pit-kilns dismissed this problem by observing that conventional medieval kilns could not have functioned using the local carrland peats. This peat, he said, gave only a short flame and poor heat radiation, and that the

only way to fire pottery using it was to bury the vessels in the fuel using these pits, which averaged between 2.5m and 9m in diameter. He went on, in his notes, to suggest how such kilns might have worked.

'The kiln was first dug out and the soil banked round the outside as a windbreak. The depth of this was *c.* 0.7m including the bank. Small twigs and tinder was placed in a small area *c.* 9-12cms. across in the centre. This was then set alight, the pots placed in a circle around the centre and the mound of peat turves filling the pit were quickly and carefully placed over the touch fire and the pots completely burying them in the fuel set alight in the middle. The fire slowly spread throughout the fuel and the pots were fired. The peat ash slumps as the firing progresses, but it still covered the pots thereby preventing the sudden cooling of the bisque and protected the pots until they were cool enough to remove. It is estimated that an average firing for the thirteenth-century kilns was about 2 to 2½ days from the time that the kiln was lit until the pots were removed. This figure was arrived at by an experimental firing in a pit kiln with a modern carrland peat'.

Although this creates a plausible picture of a Staxton ware kiln, there is sadly no archaeological evidence from either Staxton or Potter Brompton to support it. The limited recording in fact gives no indication that these features were anything other than waster pits. There were damaged sherds and ashy deposits which would confirm the potting process, but the pits themselves showed no sign of flues, heat-fused walls or internal kiln structure, all of which might reasonably be expected. Sketch section drawings for both Potter Brompton Pit 1, and Dean's Site in fact suggest that these ash and sherd deposits had been tipped into these pits. Several of the pits were between 1.5 and 2m deep and it is hard to envisage enough draught at their base to keep a fire going beneath a covering of turves.

Although the quantity, fragmentation and nature of the pottery recovered clearly derived from kiln waste, there were very few 'wasters' in the sense of the sherds having distorted or fused through over-heating. None of the pits produced the usual hard, burnt, reddened edges or floors that typify the walls and floors of conventional kilns. Now it could be argued that slow-burning peat would be less likely to over-heat, but nevertheless, the artificial firing experiments (discussed above) suggest that these pots were being fired between 850°C and 950°C. It is hard to imagine such firing temperatures being reached without some burning and sand-fusion to the walls of the pit kilns.

There was no recorded trace of any of these 'waster' vessels being found *in situ* in the 'pit-kilns', most of which had sloping rather than flat bottoms. Compared with other medieval kiln waste assemblages, there was a smaller proportion of semi-complete vessels, or fitting profiles, particularly amongst the larger vessels. This may be due in part to the apparent discarding of many of the body sherds, but it may also confirm that these were simply waster pits.

If the pottery was not being fired in 'pit-kilns', where was it being fired? It seems unlikely that Brewster should not have found some trace of conventional flued chamber kilns had they been in use here. The other alternative is that firing took place in surface built clamp kilns whose remains have been lost to the plough, or otherwise passed unrecognised. Burning to the topsoil had been noted at Potter Brompton (see above) but without fuller recording. With a slow burning fuel like peat, it may have proved difficult to raise the temperature sufficiently to fire the pottery. Rather than firing the pots in the shelter of a pit, it may have been necessary to make use of winds and draughts on the ground surface in order to create a high enough temperature within the kiln load. Such clamp kilns remove the need for firing chambers or flues, although they would have afforded the potter little control over fluctuations in

temperature within the kiln load. In this respect, it is probably significant that so many of the vessels recovered from these excavations varied considerably in colour from one part of the pot to another. Such inconsistency of colour implies a lack of control of both the oxygen levels within the load and of the firing temperatures. However, again the surviving evidence provides no direct substantiation. Brewster favoured pit-kilns, the present writer clamp kilns, but essentially there was no firm archaeological evidence for either method.

#### c: Date Range of the Industry

Although Brewster's work at Staxton and Potter Brompton was extensive, there is clearly no certainty that the waster groups that he recovered represents either the earliest or the latest phases of production from either village. To understand the overall date range of the Staxton ware industry it is necessary to look first at the occurrence of the ware on better dated sites in the region.

The earliest sure date comes from Lurk Lane, Beverley where Watkins found examples of Staxton ware stratified in horizons below the destruction layers from the Great Fire of Beverley of the 20th of September 1188 (pers. comm.). At Wharram Percy three small sherds were found stratified in the manorial undercroft whose construction was dated, on architectural grounds to around 1180 (Le Patourel 1979). It therefore would seem safe to presume that the Staxton ware industry was firmly established by the later twelfth-century.

The date for the end of Staxton ware production seems a little more difficult, Coppack (1978) and Le Patourel (1979) suggest the mid fifteenth-century, but Watkins found small amounts of Staxton ware in late fourteenth-century contexts at Hull (Blackfriargate) but none from fifteenth-century deposits (Earnshaw and Watkins 1984). However, Hull lay on the outer fringe of Staxton ware distribution where any decline in the industry would be expected to show first. More restricted production may have continued being marketed closer to the kilns into the fifteenth-century, but this has yet to be convincingly established. Elsewhere in the region, however, the other medieval coarseware fabrics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were generally giving way by the early fifteenth-century to a combination of the growing dominance of the Humberware and other late medieval industries, and also to a rapidly diminishing demand for ceramic cooking-pots (Hayfield 1988).

Documentary sources may yet provide some evidence for these pottery industries, but the necessary research has not yet been done. The first recorded use of the place name Potter Brompton appears to have been Kirby's Inquest of 1285 (Smith 1937, 118-119), but it would seem likely that potting had been established in the village long before that date.

Brewster was quite clear in his own mind about the date range of his Staxton and Potter Brompton kilns: they began in the early thirteenth century, and had terminated by the end of the fourteenth century (Brewster 1958, 446). There was, however, no surviving evidence from either Staxton or Potter Brompton that would support such a restricted date range. Essentially, none of this pottery can be dated with any confidence. A silver long cross penny was discovered from Trench II of the 1963 Hare and Hounds excavation, but it was unrelatable to any of the major waster groups from that site. It was also unfortunate that none of the 'groups' of pottery wasters were stratigraphically relatable.

In Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, research indicates that, in general terms at least, pottery production underwent basic typological change from century to century (Hayfield 1985). The assessments of the various sites in the pages above have observed, typologically, that one assemblage seemed earlier or later than another. Even such

generalised statements are questionable, for they assume that all variation in forms and vessel types are chronological rather than attributable simply to the pots having been produced at the hands of different potters. Nevertheless, unsatisfactory as they are, such typological judgments offer the only means available at present of relating the various assemblages considered here.

Given such caveats and the minimal evidence available, it could be suggested that the pottery from Dean's site probably represents the earliest assemblage from Staxton, followed by the Hare and Hounds, Boythorpe, Dobson's, and finally Stephenson's. The Potter Brompton material probably relates to the earlier part of this sequence. As a guess, Dean's site vessels are late twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century, whereas Stephenson's vessels are more likely to be fourteenth-century.

#### e: Distribution and Regional Significance of Potter Brompton and Staxton Wasters

The thick, heavily sand-tempered coarseware pottery produced at Staxton and Potter Brompton was far from being exclusive to this part of Yorkshire. This type of coarseware fabric was common across the whole of East Yorkshire and large parts of North Lincolnshire from the eleventh or twelfth century through to the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Hayfield 1985). There were probably a number of manufacturing centres producing these wares; others, for example, are suspected at Hedon (Hayfield and Slater 1984), and there were at least two production sites in North Lincolnshire. Together they make up the 'coarse sandy tradition', one of a number of regional potting traditions recognisable in East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire during the medieval period (Hayfield 1985).

These regional traditions can perhaps be seen as one element of what Jope described in 1964 as 'medieval regional cultures'. The various pottery fabrics that were produced in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire all fall into a small number of general types or traditions such as Humberwares, Orangewares and Coarse Sandy wares. With each tradition it appears that there were a number of contemporary kilns within this region deliberately producing pottery of similar appearance. That is to say similar fabrics and fabric colour, similar vessel forms and shapes, similar manufacturing techniques, and similar styles of decoration.

As the potters at both Staxton and Potter Brompton were using the same clay and tempering sources a certain similarity in the appearance of their pottery fabrics might be expected. However, the similarities go far beyond just fabric type, there was clearly a deliberate, almost slavish adherence to a regionally accepted style. Whether this adherence to a 'tradition' was motivated by fashion, market demand or perceived regional identity is unknown.

Fig. 16 shows the known distribution of Staxton ware in East Yorkshire in relation to the known medieval markets (McCutcheon 1939). This map is far from complete because many small surface collections remain unstudied in local museums that might provide a more detailed picture of its distribution. Scarborough assemblages show high proportions of Staxton ware, sufficient to suggest that, for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at least, it was the main source of coarseware pottery to the town's markets. The Scarborough ware industry itself was predominantly concerned with the production of high quality jugs and other table ware in the regional Orangeware tradition and seems content to have ignored the coarseware market. At Wharram Percy and the surrounding villages on the High Wolds, Staxton ware is found in great quantities. Initially, in the early medieval period, they occur in competition with a white gritty coarseware (probably from the Vale of York), but by the end of the twelfth century, they dominate the coarseware component of the assemblages.



Fig. 16. Market Sites and the Distribution of Staxton Ware.

Watkins was able to demonstrate that Staxton wares formed the predominant coarseware at Kirkgate, Bridlington down to the fourteenth-century (Earnshaw and Watkins 1984, 35-37). He also identified smaller quantities at Beverley and a number from Hull, although they were always a rarity in the city. At both Beverley and Hull the bulk of the coarsewares were in the same coarse sandy tradition but from other more local sources (pers. comm.). Coppack reported Staxton wares from Bolton near Fangfoss (1978), but an analysis of their fabrics by Watkins suggests that they derived from a different source, though clearly from the same regional tradition. The planned medieval port of Hedon seems likely to have had its own source of coarse sandy ware production, again part of the same overall tradition. The large assemblage excavated there by Williams in the 1970s was dominated by these coarse sandy wares, but they do not seem to have been marketed extensively into the surrounding area (Hayfield and

Slater 1984).

It would seem that Staxton ware achieved a considerable regional distribution from the Vale of Pickering southwards across much of the Wolds, only petering out towards Beverley and Holderness where there were other, more local, kiln sources producing pottery in the same tradition. At its height, the Staxton ware industry must therefore have been a very considerable one. Brewster located one area of production at Potter Brompton and at least two separate areas of production at Staxton. It may well be that there are more kiln sites to be discovered in both villages, particularly Potter Brompton where pottery production clearly became such a feature of the village's economy that it became, quite literally, known for it.

## E) SUMMARY

Since Brewster's earliest interim report on this pottery industry, myths have developed about Staxton and Potter Brompton 'kilns' regarding their kiln structure, their closely dated production range and the pottery workshop. Sadly, there proved to be little or no evidence of a potter's workshop, no convincing evidence for 'pit kilns', and no closely dated pottery groups. Despite the often inadequate recording, these are still the most extensively excavated and investigated medieval potteries in East Yorkshire. Indeed, it is entirely due to the curiosity and enthusiasm of Tony Brewster that we know anything at all about what was a regionally important Yorkshire pottery industry.

## Acknowledgements

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## CAWOOD: AN ARCHIEPISCOPAL LANDSCAPE

by N. K. Blood and C. C. Taylor.

*Introduction.*

In late 1989 the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England surveyed the earthworks lying within the large area of open land known as Castle Garth, Cawood (SE 574376). The work was undertaken at the request of the Cawood Parish Council who wished for information on the site prior to the establishment of a new management plan. The survey was carried out by N. K. Blood, with the assistance of P. Sinton, at 1:2500 scale using metrical control based on an EDM framework. The archaeological detail was supplied by plane table and self-reducing alidade. Documentary material was provided by Dr. B. Jones. The full archive (SE 53 NE 2) is held by the National Monuments Record and aerial photographs by the Air Photography Unit of the Royal Commission. This account is published by courtesy of the Commissioners.

The remains of Castle Garth have their own intrinsic interest as the presumed site of the outer court and gardens of one of the palaces of the medieval archbishops of York and are worth publishing on those grounds alone. However, the overall setting of the site and its relationship to the remarkable standing buildings of the palace and, more particularly, to the village of Cawood and its associated landscape is such that it seemed that a more comprehensive publication might be useful.

*The Sherburn Estate (Fig. 1).*

The first detailed reference to Cawood is in 963 when King Edgar granted an estate at Sherburn either to Aeslac, perhaps Earl Oslac, exiled in 975, or to Osketel, Archbishop of York, (956-71).<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of the estate, as given in 963, are extremely vague but appear to indicate that it included most of the land within the rough triangle formed by the Rivers Wharfe / Ouse on the north, the River Aire on the south and the Roman Road from Castleford (Lagentium) to Tadcaster (Calcaria) on the west. Though at first sight the charter implies the existence of a compact and unified estate it is clear that even in the late tenth century some land within this triangle lay outside the grant. Among the few places specifically mentioned in the 963 charter is 'all Lotherton except 1 hide'. This suggests that if the estate at Sherburn had once been geographically compact, by 963 it had already been reduced in size presumably by losses or other unrecorded grants. Nevertheless it certainly included Cawood which is mentioned specifically in the charter.

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1. W. Farrer (ed), *Early Yorkshire Charters* I (1914), 18-21, no 6 (hereafter Farrer 1914); *Historians of the Church of York* I (RS 71), 340, no 5. The interpretation of the 963 charter given here is at variance with that of Mrs. M. H. Long in H. E. J. le Patourel, M. H. Long and E. Pickles (eds), *Yorkshire Boundaries* to be published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society. The view expressed in the present paper is more in keeping with the interpretation in G. R. J. Jones, 'Early Territorial Organization in Gwynedd and Elmet', *Northern Hist* 10 (1975).

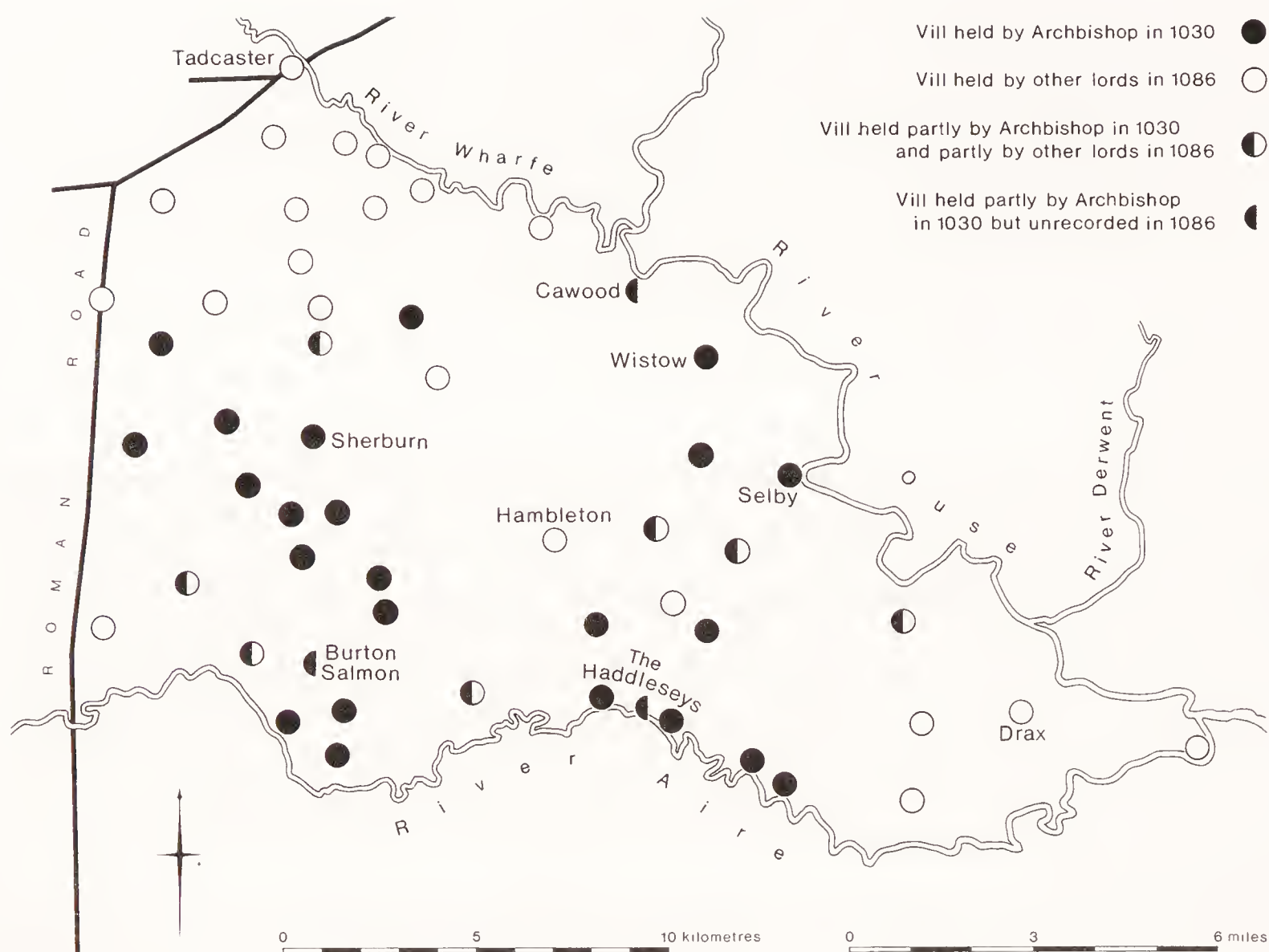


Fig. 1 Landholdings in the area of Sherburn in the 11th century (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England)

The situation is both clarified and perhaps confused by a memorandum of 975 by Archbishop Oswald (971-92) which gives a list of outlying properties at Ripon, Otley and Sherburn which had been lost to the see.<sup>2</sup> Under Sherburn it is claimed that half an unidentified place called *Ceoredholm* as well as half the 'soke which belongs to Sherburn' had been taken away but that 'half of Cawood ... still belongs to Sherburn'. Stenton<sup>3</sup> used this memorandum to argue that even by this date the northern church had not recovered from the depredations of the Danish invasions of the ninth century. As Sherburn had apparently been granted to the archbishop in 963 this can hardly be so. On the other hand the loss of extensive archiepiscopal rights and land between 963 and 975 seems unlikely. It may be that the 963 grant was in fact a re-granting of land that had belonged to the see much earlier, but which had been lost during the Danish invasion. The vague nature of the charter might then be seen as a compromise between the original situation of a unified and compact estate lying within the Wharfe / Ouse and Aire triangle and the 963 position when extensive lands and rights had been lost to other landowners who would not give them up. Nevertheless the important point for the history of Cawood is that the memorandum admits that the archbishop held only 'half' of it.

The picture becomes clearer in the next surviving documentary source. This, another charter, dated *c.* 1030,<sup>4</sup> describes in more detail the archbishop's land at Sherburn. The constituent vills of the estate are listed and described and these make it clear that the estate did not then cover the whole of the Wharfe / Ouse, Aire, Roman Road

2. A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (1939), 110-13.

3. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (1947), 430.

4. Farrer 1914, 21-3, no 7.

triangle (Fig. 1). These villis seem to cover a compact block, though with a gap in the centre caused by the omission of Hambleton. In addition all the townships at the extreme eastern end of the triangle such as Camblesforth, Drax, Long Drax, etc are also excluded. Further, the townships such as Ryther, Grimston and Stutton in the north-west of the area immediately south of Tadcaster are not listed as part of the estate. At the same time the description of some of the townships within the apparently compact group around Sherburn itself confirms the evidence of the 963 charter as well as the 975 memorandum that the estate only covered parts of some of these townships. Thus, for example, the charter specifies 'all Wistow ... half Barlow, ... all the two Thorpes ... all Fairburn except 2½ ploughlands' etc. In particular there are 'two parts of Cawood' which presumes that there was at least another part of Cawood in other hands. This again may be significant. Domesday Book clarifies matters still further. The details of the archbishop's estate are not specified, it merely being recorded that 'in Sherburn with its outliers are 96 carucates of land'.<sup>5</sup> However this assessment is approximately the same as the 20 hides of 963 and thus it is likely that the archbishop's estate was then the same as in 963 and 1030. More significant are the landholdings listed in Domesday Book for this area which are not held by the archbishop.<sup>6</sup> Ilbert de Lacey's extensive estate has three features which stand out in particular. Some of the lands de Lacey held are in townships where the archbishop also held land as part of the Sherburn estate. These include Ledsham, Fairburn, Forton and Milford. Another section comprises parts of townships at the far eastern end of the Wharfe / Ouse, Aire triangle, such as Drax, Carlton and Camblesforth, as well as Hambleton, the only non-archiepiscopal holding to the west. The third feature of the de Lacey estate is a compact group of townships immediately south of Tadcaster. This group not only fills in the gap between the archbishop's holding to the south and the Roman Road to Tadcaster in the north, where it turns north-east to reach the town, but extends across this Roman Road and is part of a much larger group of holdings most of which lay further west.

All this suggests that there may well once have been a unified estate of the archbishop of York at Sherburn perhaps derived from a royal grant of land following the conquest of the British kingdom of Elmet in the seventh century. This estate was possibly then lost to the see following the Danish invasion. When it was finally returned in 963 much of its land and part of its soke had fallen into other hands and were irrecoverable. Specifically Cawood was by then at least in dual tenure, part held by the archbishop and part by an unspecified lord. Who that lord might have been is quite unknown though later on certainly the Crown was involved as tenant in chief in Cawood.

After the late eleventh century the archbishop's estate at Sherburn is reasonably well documented. Some parts of it were later granted away, for example Monk Fryston, given to Selby Abbey soon after its foundation.<sup>7</sup> It nevertheless remained a recognizable unit of tenure until well into the seventeenth century when it was finally alienated.

*Cawood village* (Figs 2, 3, 5).

The village of Cawood lies on the southern side of the River Ouse 1km below its confluence with the River Wharfe on clay and sand at 7-8m above OD, at the point

5. M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (eds), *Domesday Book, Yorkshire*, (1986), 2B.1 (hereafter Faull and Stinson 1986).

6. Faull and Stinson 1986, 9W.

7. M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (1967), 520 (hereafter Beresford 1967).



Fig. 2 Cawood village in 1780, based on the Enclosure Map (North Yorkshire County Record Office).

where the artificial watercourse known as the Bishop Dike joins the river. The present B 1222 road from York to Sherburn crosses the Ouse at Cawood, now on a steel swing bridge constructed in 1872. Before that the river was crossed by a ferry which originally belonged to the archbishop and which was always a valued source of revenue.<sup>8</sup> The crossing and the road must always have been important in medieval times and presumably constrained the precise location of at least part of Cawood.

The tenorial history of Cawood in the medieval period was relatively simple. The main manor was, of course, that belonging to the archbishop of York, fully documented in numerous records from 963 until its alienation in the seventeenth century. Even then the archbishop still retained land in Cawood, normally rented out.<sup>9</sup> A second manor in Cawood was held for much of the medieval period by the de Cawood family.

8. e.g. *Cal Inq Misc* VI, 203, no 349; Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 f24-24v (1647).

9. e.g. *Pipe Roll Soc* NS 13 (1935), 119; *Rot Hund* I (1812), 135; *Cal Inq Misc* IV, 215, no. 396; *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315* I (Surtees Soc 145 (1931)), 223, no. 516; PRO SC12/17/58; Borthwick Inst CC Ab 2/5 (1700).

The origins of this manor are obscure but they may lie in that part of Cawood which is specified as not belonging to the archbishop in both 975 and 1030. This may have been held then and later by the Crown though such a situation is not recorded in Domesday Book. The second manor therefore may have originated in an early royal grant of land to the ancestors of the Cawoods. Certainly the Cawoods held the manor of the king as keepers of the 'Royal Forest of Langwath between the Derwent and the Ouse'.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest clear reference to this manor is in 1201 when John de Cawoode 'held land in Cawood'. The descent can be traced without a break until 1454 when another John Cawood held land there.<sup>11</sup> Thereafter the Cawoods disappear from the parish, though what may be the same family were holding land in York and Burton Agnes soon afterwards.<sup>12</sup>

However, even before 1454 the Cawoods appear to have lost some of their land in Cawood for in 1425 one Thomas Aunger had acquired, perhaps by marriage, some land which seems earlier to have been part of the Cawood manor though held of the Crown separately from the main manor there. Certainly by 1463 a Thomas Aunger held a manor in Cawood of the Crown by service of Keeper of the Forest of Langwath. In 1494 what had definitely been the Cawood manor was leased by the Crown to Richard Acclam who was holding it in 1495.<sup>13</sup> Thereafter the manor disappears from the record as a unified landholding, presumably as a result of sales.

Apart from the manors of the archbishop and the Cawoods no other major landholding appears in the medieval records. Thus these two manors are presumably all that existed. The centre of the archbishop's manor was obviously Cawood Castle (Fig. 3; see below). The manor house of the Cawoods can only be the small rectangular moated site, known as Kensbury, which lies on the south-eastern side of the village in the angle between Broad Lane and Wistowgate.<sup>14</sup> Certainly Mrs le Patourel made this connection.<sup>15</sup>

The relationship of this medieval tenure to the physical make-up of Cawood is important. As noted earlier, only 'half' of Cawood was in the hands of the archbishop in 975 and, perhaps more specifically, the archbishop's holding in Cawood in 1030 was described as being two parts of Cawood. The implication of this latter statement is that there was at least one other 'part' in other hands. The Cawood manor, admittedly in much later documents, is consistently described as being 'a third part of the vill', 'one-third part of Cawood'.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that this means not only that there were originally three parts of Cawood, but also that these three parts were physically separate.

This hypothesis is supported by an examination of the topography and the architecture of the present village as well as evidence from early OS maps and plans, the enclosure map of 1780 and various seventeenth and eighteenth-century deeds and the Court Books.<sup>17</sup> From all these it is clear that Cawood village had three distinct parts (Figs. 2, 5).

10. e.g. PRO C134/28/8; *Cal IPM* IX, 284, no. 339.

11. *Book of Fees* I 1198-1242, 249; *Cal IPM* I, 209, no. 668; *Cal IPM* V, 207, no. 367; *Cal Pat Rolls* 1330-1334, 362; *Cal Inq Misc* VI, 203, no. 349; *Cal IPM* XVIII, 332, no. 972; PRO C139/137/11; PRO C139/157/19.

12. PRO C142/181/72.

13. PRO C139/22/20; PRO C140/9/5; *Cal Fine Rolls* 1461-1471, 51; *Cal Pat Rolls* 1485-1494, 464; *Cal IPM* Henry VII III, 356, no. 602.

14. NAR SE53 NE3.

15. H. E. J. le Patourel, *Moated Sites of Yorkshire*, *Medieval Archaeol* Monograph no. 5 (1973), 15, 125 (hereafter H. E. J. le Patourel 1973).

16. *Cal IPM* V, 207, no. 367; PRO C134/28/8; *Cal IPM* XVI, 392-3, no. 983; *Cal IPM* XVIII, 332, no. 972.

17. Enclosure Map 1780, NYCRO PC/W15 DN 186; Borthwick Inst, Leases, Deeds, Terriers and Estate Particulars, generally CC Ab, CAW, etc.

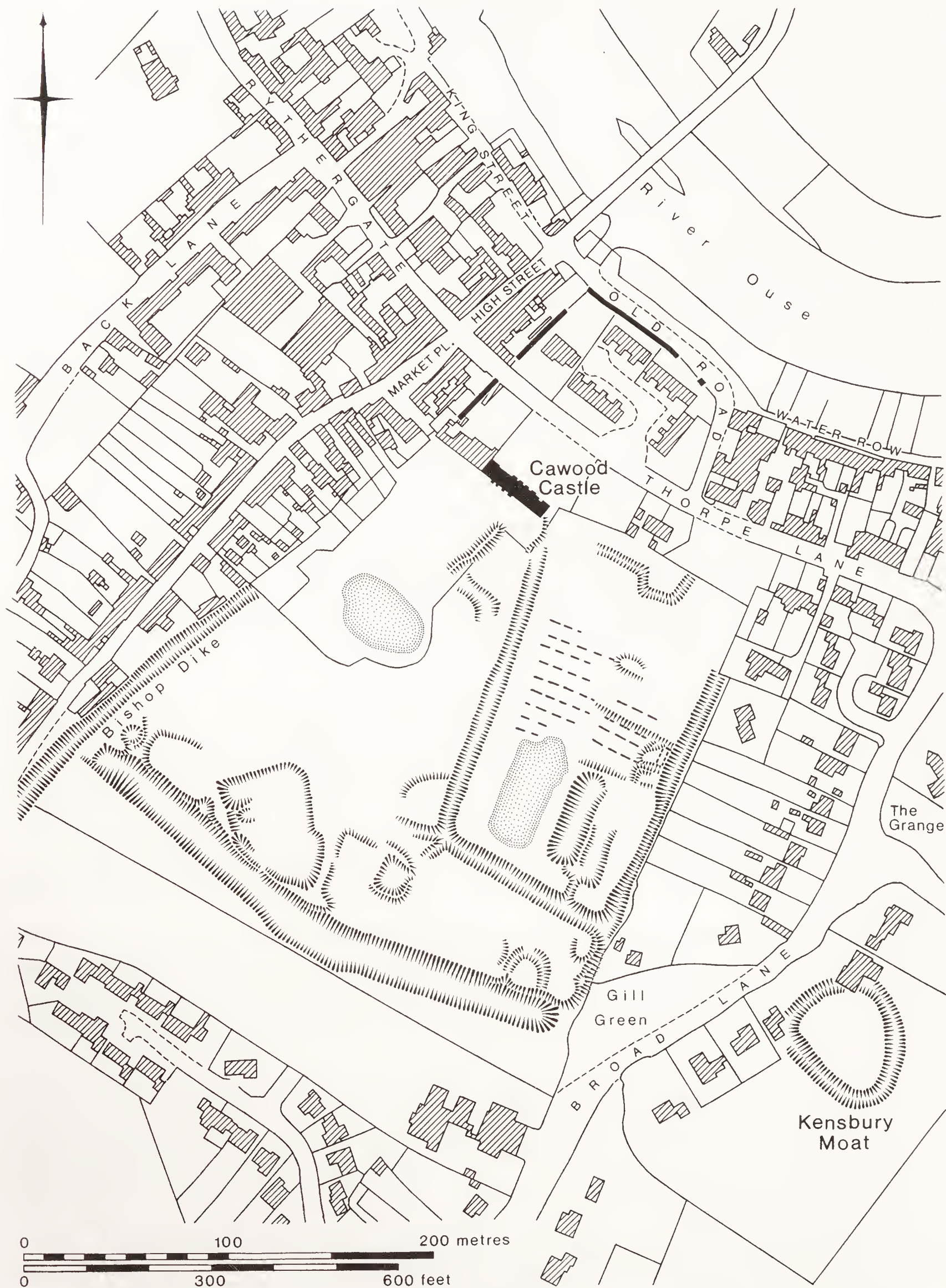


Fig. 3 Cawood Castle and Castle Garth (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England).

The smallest is that known as Church End, lying to the east of the main village on the edge of the River Ouse along a road leading east into the former Ings and Marshes. Its western end continues as Water Row. The existence of the present parish church, formerly a chapel of Wistow, between this road and the river, and set on a locally prominent rise, is perhaps significant. Though much altered and extended during the later medieval period, it still retains a mid to late twelfth-century western wall of the nave indicating a major building or rebuilding at that time. All this may imply that an associated settlement has always existed around it. Certainly the enclosure map (Fig. 2) shows on the opposite side of the street to the church a single-row settlement of very regular form and with the remains of a back lane. This settlement may once have extended to the south-west and included the present Water Row. This group of properties also forms a very regular single-row block with its own back lane, now part of Thorpe Lane (Fig. 3). Between Church End and Water Row are the last remnants of a former green, now largely occupied by a sub-rectangular encroachment already there in 1851 and then partly used as a pinfold.<sup>18</sup> There may however be a different explanation for the regularity and indeed position of Water Row. At least in part it occupies the north-eastern corner of what would otherwise be an almost perfectly trapezoidal area of land containing the archbishop's palace and its attached Castle Garth (see below). Alternatively the Castle Garth could have been larger and have extended to the south-east as far as Broad Lane and its junction with Wistowgate. Either way Water Row looks as if it has been in part or completely cut out of the Castle Garth land. If this is so it might be that the Water Row settlement had a different origin and function from Church End or indeed the other parts of Cawood. It might be a planned settlement connected with river traffic or the fisheries here, or perhaps, and more likely, a settlement separate from the other parts of Cawood, planned for and used by the servants employed by the archbishop in his palace. Certainly such servants existed and are recorded as being lessees of tofts and lands. Thus in 1253 there is a grant by Archbishop Gray 'to William Scott his servant ... of a toft in Cawood', and in 1312/13 Archbishop Greenfield granted a messuage in Cawood to 'Richard le Laufare his cook' while in 1332 Archbishop Melton granted a toft there to John, his Larderer.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately the whereabouts of these and other similar tofts and messuages is not known.

The ownership of the rest of the Church End block in Cawood in medieval times is difficult to ascertain. As far as can be seen it was archiepiscopal land though this is by no means certain. The implication of the layout of Church End, as it existed in the late eighteenth century, is that it was planned or replanned at some time.

The second part of Cawood is the present Wistowgate in the south-east of the village. At its south-eastern end it winds gently towards Wistow village, but at its north-western end it terminates abruptly at a T-junction with Broad Lane and Thorpe Lane, perhaps indicating either that its former extension north-west has been blocked by the area of land known as Castle Garth (see below) or that it was a deliberate addition to an earlier arrangement of streets.

The detailed form of Wistowgate may also be significant. It is in effect a long two-row settlement of fairly regular form. The enclosure map (Fig. 2) clarifies this interpretation somewhat for it shows that in the late eighteenth century the properties on the north-east of the street formed a highly regular pattern of near-equal sized plots terminated by what was, by then, a partly abandoned back lane. By contrast, the properties on the south-west of the street were larger, more irregular and in most

18. OS 1st edn. 6 in plan, 1851.

19. *Reg Arch Gray 1215-1255 II* (Surtees Soc 56 (1870)), 270; *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315 I* (Surtees Soc 145 (1931)), 253, no. 588; *Cal Pat Rolls 1330-1334*, 362.

cases with markedly curved boundaries. By analogy with elsewhere<sup>20</sup> this suggests that Wistowgate was once a single-row planned settlement from which expansion over former arable land took place, thus creating a two-row settlement.

At the north-western termination of Wistowgate three other features are notable. On the north-eastern side, in the angle between Thorpe Lane and Wistowgate, is The Grange, one of the largest houses in Cawood and certainly once a major farmstead, though not apparently after the late eighteenth century,<sup>21</sup> since when it has been without any associated land. Though of limited architectural merit and the result of many rebuildings and alterations, it does contain the greater part of a sixteenth-century structure<sup>22</sup>.

Directly opposite The Grange on the south-western side of Wistowgate is the Kensbury moated site, the manor house of the Cawoods. To its west is a small open triangular space known as Gill Green, itself bounded by Castle Garth to the north-west. No direct continuity between this moated site and The Grange can be proved. Indeed the reverse is the case for the Cawood's messuage is specifically recorded as 'site of the manor ... worth nothing' in 1390 and similarly described in 1403 and 1450,<sup>23</sup> though earlier in the fourteenth century it certainly existed and was valued at 2s.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless the physical relationship between The Grange and the moated site may be important for the understanding of this part of Cawood. As with Church End, Wistowgate appears in origin to be a regularly planned settlement, here perhaps replacing a more irregular settlement around Gill Green. Both the presumed original and later settlement were thus related to the moated manor house, itself possibly replaced by a later house on the site of The Grange in the late medieval period.

The third section of Cawood is the present core of the village. Though apparently complex, its plan in essence has only two parts. On the main north-east to south-west through road across the river is the Market Place, while to the north, between the road to Ryther (Rythergate) and the River Ouse, is an incomplete grid of narrow lanes and passages (Figs 2, 3). The present Market Place is small (45m x 10-18m), triangular in shape and lies entirely south-west of the central road junction. However it is obvious that this shape and size is the result of considerable encroachment. The original market place consisted of two distinct elements. The first was a large, almost rectangular, riverside area or quay, whose south-western boundary was the present Rythergate. It extended north-east to the edge of the River Ouse while its south-eastern side was the line of the Bishop Dike. The north-western boundary is not clear but was probably near the projected line of Back Lane. The pattern of irregular lanes and buildings within this area so defined is very typical of market encroachment. The second element of the former market place at Cawood includes the present Market Place, though originally this too extended south-east to the edge of the Bishop Dike. In essence then the first market place was an extensive rectangular area at least 130m long and 70m across with an extension to the south-west 50m long and 30-40m wide.

Such an arrangement can only be the result of conscious planning, as appears to be the case with the other two parts of Cawood. However, here the planning is on a large scale and clearly consistent with commercial exploitation of both river and road traffic. That is, this part of Cawood is a town or rather a port in intention and in plan and its tenurial history indicates that only an archbishop of York could have created it.

That the river played an important part in the life of medieval Cawood is certain.

20. RCHME, *Change and Continuity* (1991), 13-14.

21. Enclosure Map 1780, NYCRO PC/W15: DN 186.

22. DOE, *Listed Buildings*, District of Selby, 1984.

23. PRO C136/66/4; *Cal IPM* XVIII, 332, no. 972; PRO C139/137/11.

24. PRO C134/28/8.

Physically the quay or staithes later expanded further downstream along the present Old Road and Water Row, still known as The Jetty. Many late medieval records note the existence of wharfs at Cawood,<sup>25</sup> all of them always in the possession of the archbishop. None of the documents referring to the de Cawood holdings ever record any aspect of water-borne traffic, though the Cawoods certainly had fisheries on the Ouse.<sup>26</sup>

The archbishops were also concerned with other traffic into Cawood. They certainly owned and collected tolls from the ferry across the Ouse to Cawood and also collected and spent money for the repair of the causewayed approach to the ferry north of the river.<sup>27</sup>

River traffic remained important at Cawood until the nineteenth century and there is both written and pictorial evidence for it at that time.<sup>28</sup> Indeed many surviving buildings in the village, including eighteenth and nineteenth-century warehouses in the area between Rythergate and King Street, also testify to the existence of late water-borne trade. Yet this trade must have had its origin in the archbishop's planned inland port at Cawood.

#### *Bishop Dike* (Fig. 3).

The original south-eastern boundary of Cawood 'town' is the Bishop Dike. This is an artificial watercourse, once navigable, which extends from the River Ouse at Cawood to Sherburn, a distance of 10km. There is also the possibility that it once continued for a further 4km to the north-west of Sherburn. Its detailed course and its documented history have already been published<sup>29</sup> but in the context of the Cawood landscape it should be noted that, though the Dike is not actually recorded in documents until the early sixteenth century, it seems that it already existed in the fifteenth century when it was apparently being used to transport stone to Cawood from the Huddlestone quarries at Sherburn. There is, however, an important physical relationship that needs to be considered. For 1.5km south-west of Cawood the Dike runs in an almost straight line. Further south-west again towards Sherburn it meanders somewhat, clearly taking advantage of the micro-topography there. Yet at its north-eastern end, as it approaches Cawood village, for no apparent topographical or geological reason, the Dike suddenly and markedly changes direction by almost 20 degrees to the north-east (at SE 572375). On this new alignment it then forms the boundary between the south-eastern edge of the market place / staithe of Cawood village and the north-western edge of the Cawood Castle land. Much of this section is now mainly in a culvert, apparently of eighteenth-century date. A section was cut through it in 1986 but no dating evidence was found.<sup>30</sup> This close relationship between the village, Castle and Dike must be significant, and is discussed below.

#### *Cawood Castle* (Figs 3, 4).

The name Cawood Castle is given to the remarkable surviving building of the medieval palace of the archbishops of York which lies south-east of the village centre of

25. J. S. Miller and E. A. Gee, 'The Bishop Dike and Huddlestone Quarry', *YAJ* 55 (1983), 167-8 (hereafter Miller and Gee 1983).

26. PRO C136/66/4; *Cal IPM* XVIII, 332, no. 972.

27. *Cal Inq Misc* 1392-1399 203, no. 349; PRO SC12/17/58; *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315 I* (Surtees Soc 145 (1931)), 223, no. 516; Borthwick Inst CC Ab 6/5, Receiver General Accounts, 1609.

28. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 12 Cawood Court Book 5 Aug 1696; CC Ab 5/8 Register of Leases f61v, 29 April 1756; CC Ab 5/17 Register of Leases 265-6, 22 April 1749; 18th-century engraving of a river frontage at Cawood, reproduced in M. Bell, *Cawood* (1877), cover, and H. Speight, *Lower Wharfedale* (1905), 25.

29. Miller and Gee 1983.

30. *Archaeology in York Interim* 11 no. 3 (1986), 29-31.

Cawood. This paper is not the place for a detailed architectural analysis of the remains and indeed neither of the present authors is qualified to provide this. Nevertheless as landscape historians they believe that observations made during archaeological fieldwork for RCHME might help to set the palace into its wider context.

The surviving buildings consist of a three-storeyed gatehouse of Magnesian Limestone built by Archbishop Kempe (1426-52) and, attached to its south-eastern side, a contemporary long two-storey range of brick with Magnesian Limestone dressings, traditionally but probably erroneously called a Banqueting Hall. The gatehouse, which faces south-west, shows by its elaborately carved oriel window, the enriched spandrels of the carriage arch and the heraldic shields that it was the main formal entrance to the palace. This being so, the palace was clearly meant to be approached from the south corner of the village market place across the Bishop Dike, presumably by a bridge, alongside an assumed continuation of the gatehouse range and then left through the gatehouse into the palace proper.

Though no other parts of the palace survive, some idea of its overall arrangement can be ascertained. The palace occupied a roughly rectangular block of land, some 110m by 100m. It was bounded by the Bishop Dike on the north-west, where not only is the line of the Dike known, but traces of what is probably the original palace precinct stone wall survive, within the existing property boundaries. This Magnesian Limestone wall is discontinuous and though generally now reduced to three to four courses in height is still at least 3m high at one point. To the north-east the palace was bounded by the present Old Road, alongside the river, formerly part of Cawood Staithe. An eighteenth-century engraving of the palace from the northern side of the river<sup>31</sup> shows part of the original precinct wall still in existence consisting of ashlar blocks with simple buttresses. Part of this wall still survives along Old Road. Much of it has been rebuilt but a short section is original and includes a discontinuous chamfered plinth. A buttress, exposed during recent building works, stood at the corner of Old Road and Thorpe Lane and appears to have faced north-east.<sup>32</sup> The implication of this is that the precinct wall here turned south towards Thorpe Lane. If this is so then the palace precinct boundary presumably extended south across Thorpe Lane and then turned north-west to meet the south-eastern corner of the so-called Banqueting Hall range.

Within this precinct, so defined, stood the palace buildings. Apart from the existing remains and the largely unintelligible ruins shown on the eighteenth-century engraving there is no other illustrative or physical evidence. The engraving shows a number of ranges including, apparently, a long north-east to south-west range with tall two-stage buttresses on its north-western side and a large traceried window in its north-eastern gable, an obviously post-medieval domestic dwelling, a tall three-storey ruin and, perhaps separately, part of a tall tower which is not the existing gatehouse.

Medieval documentary sources give a few incidental details of the palace, but nothing more than would be expected in such a building. For example a chapel is recorded in 1267 and in 1300 and a brewhouse in 1507.<sup>33</sup> More useful perhaps are the written surveys and inventories of the palace compiled towards the end of its life. The earliest is an inventory of implements remaining in the palace in 1531.<sup>34</sup> In it some

31. 18th-century engraving of a river frontage at Cawood, reproduced in M. Bell, *Cawood* (1877), cover, and H. Speight, *Lower Wharfedale* (1905), 25. An earlier view of the palace in c. 1660 by Daniel King is no more informative (G. Cobb, 'Daniel King: a lesser-known seventeenth-century etcher', *Antiq J* 54 (1974), pl. LXIII).

32. NAR SE53 NE3.

33. *Reg Arch Walter Gifford 1266-1279* (Surtees Soc 109 (1904)), 13; *Cal Pat Rolls 1292-1301*, 533; *Historians of the Church of York III* (RS 71), 364.

34. PRO SC11/766.

forty separate rooms are listed. These include the expected hall, great kitchen, brewhouse, porter's lodge, gatehouse chamber, bakehouse, chapel, etc, but also the chamber in the tower (again clearly not the gatehouse), the library and the little gallery towards the waterside. Despite these details, however, it is still impossible to ascertain the overall plan of the palace. Mid seventeenth-century surveys are even less informative.<sup>35</sup> All that can be said, given this limited information, is that by the sixteenth century the palace was perhaps arranged around two courts.

The detailed history of the palace is even less well understood. The original palace of the archbishop was at the village of Sherburn, the centre of the late Saxon estate. The site of this palace is still marked by earthworks.<sup>36</sup> The move to Cawood was perhaps made for reasons of convenience, Cawood being much nearer to York and with easier communications by both road and river. But when this move took place, or whether it was a gradual process, is not known. It was not until the mid fourteenth century that Archbishop Thoresby ordered the then ruinous palace at Sherburn to be destroyed. The situation is made more complex by the existence of the semi-fortified moated hunting lodge, set within a deer park in Sherburn township, which was apparently built in the mid fourteenth century, regularly used by the archbishops, and then demolished in the early to mid sixteenth century.<sup>37</sup>

The earliest apparent reference to archiepiscopal occupation at Cawood is 1181 when Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Eveque stayed at Cawood.<sup>38</sup> From the early thirteenth century onwards references to the use of the palace become common and continue up until the mid sixteenth century. During that period many archbishops altered or improved the palace in various ways. Amongst the most notable changes are perhaps the licence to crenellate, obtained by Archbishop Walter Gifford in 1272,<sup>39</sup> which presumably implies near-contemporary building work there perhaps on a massive scale, work by Archbishop William Greenfield in 1311-12, which included the construction of a study, and the repairs carried out and 'new towers' added by Archbishop Alexander Neville in 1374-88.<sup>40</sup> Later work included a new hall built by Archbishop Henry Bowet (1407-23)<sup>41</sup> and the existing gatehouse and south-eastern range, by Archbishop John Kempe (1426-52) to judge by the heraldry there, though a more precise date might be 1444-5. Other work included that by Archbishop Thomas Rotherham (Scot) (1480-1500) who was alleged to have rebuilt parts of a number of episcopal palaces.<sup>42</sup> Later changes were carried out by Archbishop Thomas Savage (1501-7) and Archbishop Thomas Wolsey is said to have begun lavish repairs to Cawood before his arrest there in 1530.<sup>43</sup>

In 1531 after the fall of Wolsey the palace was clearly in a poor state<sup>44</sup> and subsequent archbishops seem largely to have abandoned Cawood in favour of their palace at Bishopthorpe, much closer to York. By the early seventeenth century most of the land, including the Castle Garth, had been leased out.<sup>45</sup>

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35. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 815 ff25-25v.

36. NAR SE43 SE5.

37. H. E. J. le Patourel 1973, 15, 125.

38. W. Wheater, *History of the Parishes of Sherburn and Cawood* (1865), 79 (hereafter Wheater 1865).

39. *Cal Pat Rolls 1266-1272*, 632.

40. *Reg Arch William Greenfield 1306-1315* IV (Surtees Soc 152 (1937)), 363, no. 2350; V (Surtees Soc 153 (1938)), 11, no. 2371; *Historians of the Church of York II* (RS 71), 422.

41. *Historians of the Church of York II* (RS 71), 433, 485; R. B. Dobson (ed), *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls 1396-1500* (Surtees Soc 192 (1978-9)), 44.

42. *Historians of the Church of York II* (RS 71), 440.

43. Wheater 1865.

44. PRO SC 11/766.

45. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 ff25 (1647).

During the Civil War, Archbishop John Williams (1641-50) attempted to fortify the palace, despite the fact that it was 'unprovided, ruinous and indefensible'.<sup>46</sup> By 1647, after demolition by Parliamentary forces and apparently a fire, the buildings were again described as ruinous. The castle site was finally sold in 1648 but nevertheless 24 hearths were listed for the castle in 1672.<sup>47</sup>

The early eighteenth-century engraving<sup>48</sup> shows extensive ranges of buildings still remaining especially at the north-western end of the site, but these were perhaps largely removed in 1750 when Robert Hewarth was paid £190 11s. for expenses involved in 'pulling down part of the ruins of Cawood'.<sup>49</sup> In the late eighteenth century farm buildings were erected against the inner wall of the gatehouse<sup>50</sup> but this was apparently after 1780 for the enclosure map shows no such building. By 1851 there existed a range of farm buildings, set around a central yard with an entrance to the rest of the palace site to the north-east.<sup>51</sup> This was probably the farm pulled down in the 1980s and said to be mainly of Victorian date or later.<sup>52</sup> The 1851 plan also shows a building to the north-east, near the centre of the site.

In 1887 a new road was cut across the site from the Rythergate junction with the Market Place to Thorpe Lane. The succeeding arrangement is clearly depicted on the OS 1st edn 25 in plan of 1891. In recent years modern housing, including a small estate, has been laid out in the area of the palace between the new road and Old Road, sadly without any prior archaeological excavation. Further building work has taken place to the south of the new road, east of the gatehouse, in the last few years.

#### *Castle Garth (Figs 3, 4).*

The present Castle Garth is a trapezoidal area, mainly of permanent pasture, now in the hands of Cawood Parish Council. The surviving palace buildings lie in the north-western corner. South-west of these buildings, an enclosed area with a sub-circular pond represents the late nineteenth-century garden (i.e. post-1891) of Cawood Castle House.

In earlier times the Garth certainly extended northwards to include the whole of the palace site and perhaps the western end of Water Row. It may once have extended south-east to include the land between Broad Lane and Thorpe Lane to the north-north-east of Gill Green and perhaps thus even have included the area now occupied by the eastern end of Water Row. If this is so then, as noted above, Water Row might be explained as a planned archiepiscopal settlement cut out of the Castle Garth. Such a supposition also has implications for the surviving Gill Green and the north-western termination of Wistowgate. The former is oddly cramped by both the existing and a putatively larger Castle Garth and a north-western extension of Wistowgate may have been truncated by the establishment of the Garth. If this is so then the whole of the Garth and the palace site appear to have been placed into an existing landscape without regard to any feature except the line of the Bishop Dike, if indeed it was already there. The Dike forms the north-western boundary of the Garth.

Within the existing Castle Garth are various earthworks which were the subject of the Royal Commission's initial survey. Not all are explicable but they fall into two

46. J. Hackett, *Scrvia Reservata* (1692), 186-7; A. Philips, *The Life of John Williams* (1700), 283-4.

47. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 ff25; CC Ab 6/8; PRO E179/262/14.

48. See note 28.

49. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 10 CAW81, April 1750.

50. *Archaeology in York Interim* 10 no. 4 (1985), 17.

51. OS 1st edn. 6 in plan, 1851.

52. See note 50.



Fig. 4 Castle Garth, Cawood, from the south-east (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England).

main groups. The first group occupies the southern and western parts of the area and is the least amenable to interpretation. Of the earthworks here the most obvious is a broad deep flat-bottomed ditch or depression up to 2m deep, which extends with a marked dog-leg in the centre along almost the full width of the south-western edge of the Garth. It is normally marshy and in wet years holds water. Its termination on the east is rounded. At the north-west its termination is abrupt and apparently modern. This end has clearly been altered in recent times by the dumping of soil and indeed is shown marshy and with an asymmetrical drawn out pointed end in 1891.<sup>53</sup> In 1851 this end is shown different again, with a short extension or bulge to the north-east.<sup>54</sup> At that time the whole ditch is shown as water-filled. Only one thing is clear, and that is that certainly since the mid nineteenth century this ditch has not been linked to the Bishop Dike which lies only 7m from its present termination. Whether it once did link with the Dike is quite unknown and the Dike itself has no indication of any former link, mainly as a result of continuous re-cutting.

The name of this ditch also presents problems. It is called New Cut on the 1851 OS plan, a name which is repeated on all subsequent editions of OS plans except the most recent. Yet, as far as can be ascertained, the name, and indeed the ditch, is quite unrecorded in any earlier documents. This name can thus have two possible interpretations. It and the ditch itself may both be relatively modern, perhaps post-medieval, and it may be, literally, a 'new' piece of work. It could therefore perhaps be merely a relatively late fishpond. The other interpretation is to accept the 'new' in terms of place-names that often mean 'very old' or that perhaps the ditch had been recut or remodelled in recent times and that it is of some antiquity. In this case it might still be a fishpond - albeit perhaps medieval. But in view of the possibility that it was once connected to Bishop Dike, it may have originated as a basin, or wharf, for boats using the navigable Dike, certainly in the later medieval period and perhaps earlier, depending on the date of the Dike itself. Given the importance of medieval water-borne traffic in Cawood this is the most attractive theory though quite unprovable at the present time.

Part of the way along the New Cut, on its northern side, and connected to it by a gap through the side of the Cut, is a somewhat irregular sub-rectangular depression. This has an uneven base which is higher than the bottom of the New Cut. It is marked on the 1851 OS plan and there called Willow Beds and is also shown as an area of rough pasture on the 1891 plan. It is clearly later than the Cut and perhaps originated as a quarry for brick earth or for clay for pottery manufacture. Bricks, tiles and earthenware pottery were all being manufactured in Cawood in the mid nineteenth century and later.<sup>55</sup> Field-names of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries commonly indicate former brick and tile workings, though none apparently in Castle Garth.<sup>56</sup>

The earliest reference to tile works and significantly specifically part of the archbishop's holdings is in about 1235, when a 'cultura' is described as extending from the 'tileworks (*tegula*) of the archbishop and abuts on the ditch of the garden of the same'.<sup>57</sup> The reference to the garden implies that this must have been in or near Castle Garth (see below) but it is not possible to give a closer location.

Various other low scarps, banks and hollows lie elsewhere immediately north of the

53. OS 1st edn. 25 in plan, 1891.

54. See note 10.

55. OS 1st edn. 6 in plan, 1851.

56. e.g. PRO SC12/17/58; Borthwick Inst CC Ab 12 CAW/WIS, 1/1 Court Book, 1690 (18 March 1690); 1/3 Court Book, 1736-1753 (July 1737); 1/7 Court Book, 1784-1790 (Jan 1787).

57. *Reg Arch Gray 1215-1255 II* (Surtees Soc 56 (1870)), 246.

New Cut but they form no identifiable pattern. Other even more fragmentary scarps lie a little to the south of the palace gatehouse. Further south-west within the garden of Castle Garth House is a sub-circular pond, now a decorative feature within that garden. It is shown on the 1891 plan as smaller and more irregular and on the 1851 plan as much larger and oval. On both plans it is called Fish Pond. This pond and the adjacent slight earthworks to the north could be connected with the demesne farm which certainly existed at Cawood and presumably lay outside the palace in medieval times.<sup>58</sup>

More important and seemingly more understandable are the second group of earthworks which occupy the north-eastern third of Castle Garth. They comprise a roughly rectangular enclosure, bounded on the north-west, south-west and south-east by a dry ditch 8-10m wide and up to 1.2m deep. The north-eastern edge is the modern boundary to Castle Garth. At the southern end of this enclosure are three very different features, which probably were once all similar. On the west is a roughly rectangular water-filled pond, much enlarged by modern cattle treading to judge from the positions of a number of Scotch Pines around it, and shown smaller and more rectangular in 1891 and even more rectangular in 1851. Immediately south-east and parallel to it is a long narrow rectangular pond, now dry. This is not shown on either the 1851 or 1891 plans. On its south-eastern side again are the slight remains of the south-eastern side of a further pond. This is shown as a long narrow pond on both the 1851 and 1891 plans – apparently dry at the former date but water-filled at the latter. Its present fragmentary appearance is the result of it being partly occupied by a temporary property boundary which was laid across it after 1851 when its eastern half and a small area of land to the east were incorporated into the paddock to the east. The situation is shown thus in 1891 but has since reverted to the 1851 position. Both the ponds are described as Fish Ponds on the nineteenth-century plans.

To the north-east of these three once parallel ponds are two blocks of very slight narrow ridges 8-9m across and separated by a north to south axial gap with a rise so slight that it is unsurveyable. These ridges lay within the enclosure and do not align across the central gap. Thus they cannot be normal ridge-and-furrow. They are much more likely to be planting ridges for trees or shrubs separated by an axial pathway.

At the extreme north-eastern end of the enclosure is a modern dog-leg drain. This partly occupies the site of yet another roughly rectangular Fish Pond, depicted and so-named on the 1851 and 1891 plans and which survived until the 1960s when it was filled.

The internal details, both those surviving and those shown on earlier plans, make it quite clear that this enclosure within Castle Garth can only be the remains of a former garden. The three ponds, though superficially the same as medieval fishponds, have parallels in numerous garden remains of the late and immediately post-medieval period. The ridging, with its axial path, as has already been noted, is surely an area of former tree or shrub-planting, while the destroyed pond to the north, which ideally should have been matched with another in the area now built over to the north-west, is an additional garden-type feature. By analogy with the growing body of information on formal garden earthworks the remains at Cawood are likely to be seventeenth-century or earlier.<sup>59</sup>

That a garden or gardens existed at the archbishop's palace at Cawood is certain. The earliest reference noted is about 1235<sup>60</sup> when a garden was recorded at Cawood

58. *Cal Inq Misc 1377-1388* IV, 215, no. 396; *Cal Ch Rolls 1257-1300*, 269.

59. C. C. Taylor, *The Archaeology of Gardens* (1983), 33-59.

60. See note 57.

Castle. In 1447<sup>61</sup> the gardens are said specifically to adjoin the Castle. Given the arrangement of the site, it seems likely that the surviving garden earthworks may be on or near this fifteenth-century garden.

Later documentation is less clear. In a survey dated about 1535 there is a reference to a lease in 1515 to a place of 7 acres called Apulgarth Flatte.<sup>62</sup> This name apparently does not occur in either earlier or later documents, but presumably indicates land used for growing apple trees, that is an orchard. The name Flatte may be significant for the only other fields in Cawood parish with the name Flat, Flatte or Flatts are those immediately south of Castle Garth, well documented in the post-medieval period because they remained in the archbishop's hands after the sale of the main Cawood manor.<sup>63</sup> The 7 acres of Apulgarth is somewhat larger than the modern 5.5 acres estimated to be the original area of the garden. If Apulgarth is the garden then it was already leased out in the early sixteenth century and thus its detailed arrangement of ponds could belong to an earlier period. It is also possible that the identifiable ridges may be the planting ridges for apple trees within that garden.

The picture is both clarified and clouded in turn by later references to a garden in Castle Garth. From 1597 until 1627 there are a series of Receiver's Accounts for Cawood which refer to various offices held there.<sup>64</sup> These offices are Keeper of Cawood Castle, Keeper of the Stud Mares at Cawood, and the Keeper of the Orchard and the Garden of Cawood. At first sight this seems to imply that the gardens at Cawood were still in existence in the early seventeenth century. Further, a parliamentary survey of 1647, taken after the destruction of the castle, records the lands of the archbishop and their values as in 1641. These include an orchard in the Castle Garth of 7 acres.<sup>65</sup> This appears to be very similar to the orchard held by the earlier Keepers and perhaps even the 7 acres of the Apulgarth. However, another survey of the archbishop's remaining lands made in the 1690s<sup>66</sup> has a significant entry: 'Before the [Civil] Wars there were Patent Officers who had salaries from the Archbishop. Take account of them from the Audit Book of Arch. Matthews, 1609'. It then lists the same offices as in the Receiver's Accounts with their annual salaries, plus the office of the keepers of various deer parks. Given that by this time the castle was abandoned and these parks no longer existed it may be that perhaps these offices and their holders were, even by 1597, purely honorary and related to a medieval situation which had long since disappeared. If this is so then it makes it even more likely that the earthwork remains in Castle Garth, Cawood, are those of the garden of a medieval archbishop.

### *Conclusion.*

So far this paper has been largely descriptive and the result of observations rather than an overall analytical interpretation. Yet, is it indeed possible to analyse the large masses of material available from a wide variety of sources and construct any general picture of the origins and development of the Cawood landscape? One of the present writers has already expressed doubts in print on the possibility of reconstructing past landscapes with any certainty.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, perhaps some very tentative conclusions

61. Borthwick Inst A/19 f174 (Reg John Kempe).

62. PRO SC 12/17/58.

63. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 2/6 (Particulars of Archbishop's Estates) ff13-21

64. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 6/1-6.

65. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 8/5 f24.

66. Borthwick Inst CC Ab 2/6 f43.

67. C. C. Taylor, Whittlesford: The Study of a River-edge Village, in M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (eds), *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (1989), 207-27.

might be drawn out, provided that it is accepted from the outset that they are tentative and subject to revision at all levels.

The first point, picking up the title of this paper, is that, overall, the landscape of Cawood, and probably the landscape of the other townships in the surrounding area that were part of the Sherburn Estate, still bear the indelible marks of the archiepiscopal hand. Other hands, both important and unimportant, have played their parts to a greater or lesser extent, but it is the direct exploitation for money of most of the land between the Wharfe / Ouse and the Aire by successive archbishops and their servants that is the most marked feature in the present landscape. Over the Sherburn Estate as a whole the details of this exploitation still remain to be filled in by other scholars. Likewise much still remains to be done to assess fully the exploitation of the wider landscape even of Cawood township. This is particularly true in relation to matters such as the clearance or assarting of woodland, the enclosure of the open fields and even micro-topographical details such as the fishing garths on the River Ouse.

To illustrate how this might be done it is perhaps worth attempting a reconstruction of the development of the medieval settlement at Cawood in relation to what is at present the perceived understanding in the wider field. As has been described in some detail, Cawood is in effect a polyfocal village.<sup>68</sup> Yet the specific form of its various foci have a regularity which pre-supposes an element of deliberate planning and while the polyfocality may be ancient the detailed form of the village seems to be more recent. If this is accepted as a working hypothesis then it may be possible to suggest the late Saxon arrangement of Cawood. The postulation of such an arrangement depends primarily on establishing the contemporary communication pattern of the area.

It would be impossible to expect that every road or lane of the time could be identified. Nevertheless on the theory that in general terms what were in the later medieval period and often still are important routes have always been important,<sup>69</sup> some suggestions can be made. The primary route through Cawood is likely to have been the present B 1223 Selby to Tadcaster road, locally running from Wistow via Cawood to Ryther. A second important route, at least by late Saxon times, would presumably have been the present B 1222 Sherburn to York road, perhaps crossing the Ouse at Cawood by ferry. The tenorial link between Sherburn and York in late Saxon times inevitably would have meant considerable traffic from Sherburn to Cawood, even if the rest of the journey to York was completed by boat. The irregular form and somewhat disjointed nature of the B 1222 north-east of Cawood might suggest that originally the road to Sherburn was only important as far as Cawood. Thus, in late Saxon times, there was in the vicinity of Cawood a point of junction or a crossing of a north-east to south-west route and a north-west to south-east one. Refining the picture rather more, the position of Cawood church, assuming that it is either on a pre-Conquest site or is related to a settlement of pre-Conquest origin, demands the existence of a river-edge trackway. There is also a need to presume the existence of a route running due south from Cawood, in order to explain Gill Green and the northern end of Broad Lane. The existence of such a route system and the polyfocality of medieval Cawood would thus suggest that the late Saxon pattern consisted of a focus at a crossroads somewhere in the area of the present High Street or around the ferry and / or staithe, another focus at a further crossroads at or near Gill Green or the end of Wistowgate and a third around the present church. These foci would equate with the three parts of Cawood of the eleventh century and later, two of which, Church End and High Street, belonged to the archbishop and the third of which, Gill Green, was in other hands (Fig. 5A).

68. C. C. Taylor, 'Polyfocal Settlement and the English Village', *Medieval Archaeol* 21 (1977), 189-93.

69. C. C. Taylor, *Roads and Tracks of Britain* (1979), 111-24.

What happened subsequently is clear, though the relative and absolute dating must be uncertain. The planned 'port' of Cawood, the palace and Castle Garth and the planned area of Wistowgate all appeared, perhaps with a replanned Church End (Fig. 5B). The establishment of the Garth must have completely disrupted the north-west to south-east route-way and forced it into its pre-1877 line along Water Row, Old Road and High Street. It also probably partly covered the area of the Wistowgate settlement around Gill Green which may have led to that settlement being replanned along Wistowgate itself. In addition, the Bishop Dike was either cut anew or recut on a line which formed the boundary of the 'new' port and the Palace Garth. It is tempting to suggest that the establishment of Cawood 'port', Wistowgate, Church End and the Palace Garth could all have been one coherent piece of landscape planning, with the Water Row area as a dependent servants' quarters being either part of the main scheme or created a little later.

If this is so what date can it all be? There is certainly no direct documentary evidence. Indeed in terms of the exact location of any ancient feature in the modern landscape, large or small, except for the church, nothing can be proved to have existed before the fifteenth century. Even at that date only the position of the present palace buildings is certain. Most other features, for example streets, lanes and fields cannot be located until they are recorded in post-medieval documents. On the other hand, the record of large numbers of hurdles and 'bridges', despatched from Cawood via Pembroke to Ireland in 1211, might suggest that the port was already in being by that date. Further, by analogy with elsewhere, both in Yorkshire and beyond, the late eleventh or twelfth century is the period at which such a massive alteration to the landscape could be envisaged. Many villages and parts of villages with regular plans have been assigned to this time with a greater or lesser degree of certainty<sup>70</sup> and the period is also one during which numerous 'new' towns were created.<sup>71</sup> A close parallel to Cawood, both geographically and functionally as well as perhaps in date, is Hedon, near Hull. It too seems to have been set up as a market and a port, though not technically a town, probably in the mid twelfth century.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the most likely time for the establishment of Cawood as a new palace, a new port and a marketing centre is also in this general period. Beyond that it is probably impossible to go.

In the realms of wilder speculation the confirmation of a grant of 7 bovates in Cawood to Archbishop Thurston in 1135-40<sup>73</sup> could be seen as the royal seal of approval on the ownership of land before it was completely remodelled. Or the later twelfth-century rebuilding of the church at Cawood might mark the period of replanning as it may have done at Somersham in Cambridgeshire.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand the record of a confirmation by Roger, Dean of York (1221-35), of an exchange of 'certain lands and tofts' made between John de Cawood and the archbishop in 'the vill of Cawood'<sup>75</sup> might actually indicate the method by which the old Gill Green settlement was removed and its land incorporated into Castle Garth, as well as its

70. Pipe Roll Soc, NS 28 (1953), xvii, 89; J. A. Sheppard, 'Metrological Analysis of Regular Village Plans in Yorkshire', *Agr Hist Rev* 22 (1974), 118-35; J. A. Sheppard, 'Medieval Village Planning in Northern England: Some Evidence From Yorkshire', *J Hist Geogr* 2 (1976), 3-20; P. Allerston, 'English village development: findings from the Pickering district of North Yorkshire', *Trans Inst Brit Geogr* 51 (1970), 75-109; C. C. Taylor, *Village and Farmstead* (1983), 133-48; C. C. Taylor, 'Spaldwick, Cambridgeshire', *Proc Cambridge Antiq Soc* 78 (1989), 71-5.

71. Beresford 1967.

72. T. R. Slater, 'Medieval Town and Port: A Plan-analysis of Hedon, East Yorkshire', *YAJ* 57 (1985), 23-41.

73. Farrer 1914, 34, no. 20.

74. C. C. Taylor, 'Somersham Palace, Cambs: A Medieval Landscape for Pleasure?', in M. Bowden, D. Mackay and P. Topping (eds), *From Cornwall to Caithness*, BAR Brit Ser 209 (1989), 211-24.

75. BL Cotton MS D Claudius B III f41.

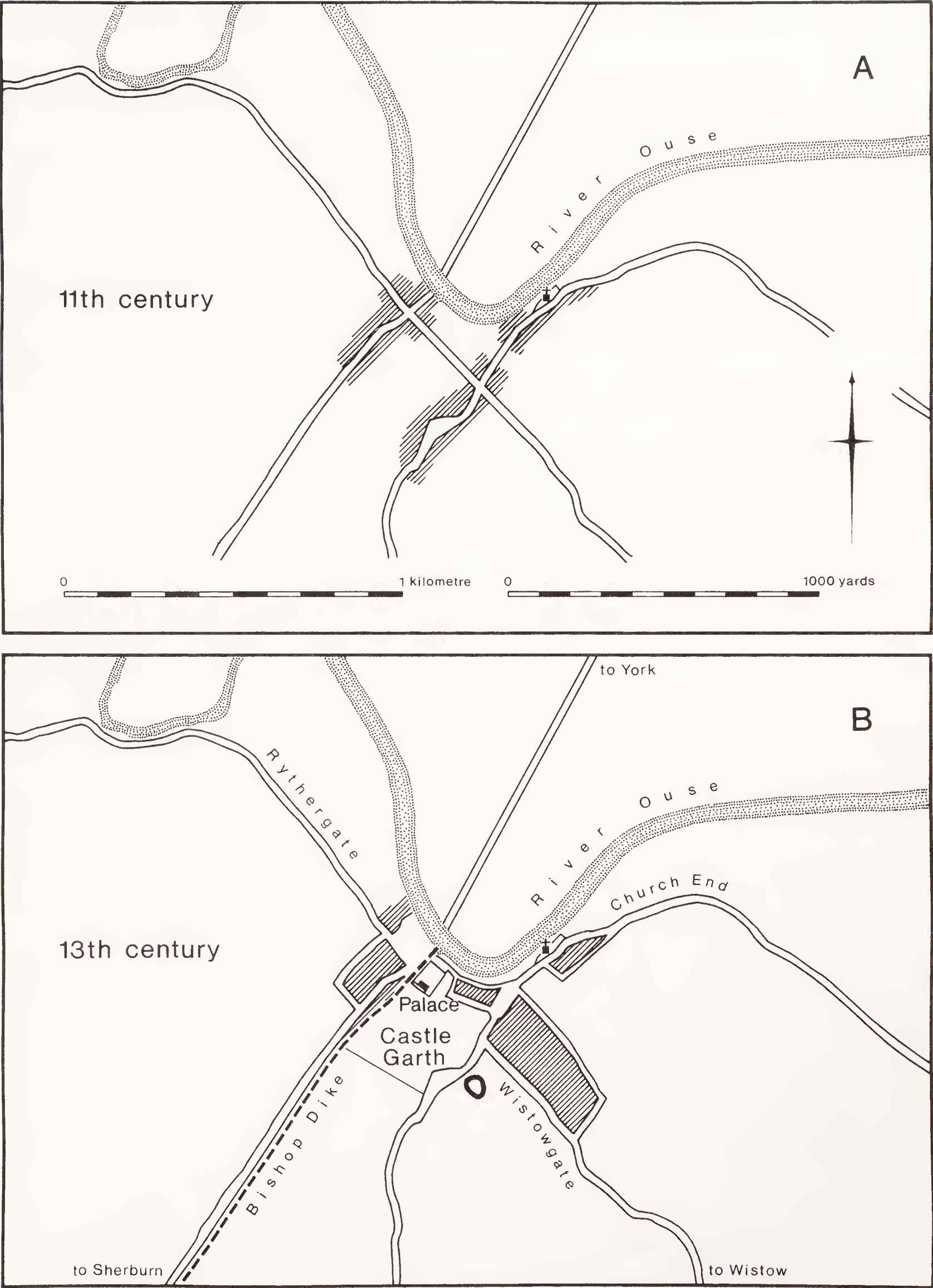


Fig. 5 Development of Cawood (Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England)

approximate date. Indeed these three events might be seen as the beginning, the implementation and the culmination of the process of remodelling the Cawood landscape.

Thus, in the end, only suggestions can be made about the origins and the development of the Cawood landscape. On the other hand it is now possible to indicate specific places where future archaeological work might well be concentrated in order to find the necessary evidence or disprove the foregoing theories. The palace site itself is an obvious place and the edges of Gill Green, particularly where it abuts on the Castle Garth, is another. Anywhere in High Street, Cawood, or in the area of the postulated quay and market place would be useful to examine, while excavations in one of the few empty spaces in Wistowgate might produce valuable evidence. This paper has not provided answers to the origins of the archiepiscopal landscape of Cawood, but at least it can now point to where those answers might be found.

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## THE CULT OF 'ST.' THOMAS OF LANCASTER AND ITS ICONOGRAPHY

by John Edwards

The purpose of this paper is to give some account of the cult of 'St.' Thomas of Lancaster, and to collate, probably for the first time, the various examples of its iconography. It was completed in October 1990.

### *Historical Background.*

As Dr. J. R. Maddicott says, 'Thomas of Lancaster was a man of great complexity, living under a king whose problems were insoluble,'<sup>1</sup> but fortunately the scope of this paper does not call for a full account of the convoluted history, the sources of which are often at variance, from Edward II's accession in 1307 to 1322, the year of Lancaster's execution. Yet even without attempting to deal with the subtleties, some description of the three protagonists, Lancaster, Gaveston, and the king, and of how they interacted, seems desirable if only to suggest how it was that by 1322 the king could have Lancaster executed as a traitor, whereas immediately afterwards the populace could think him worthy of canonisation.

Lancaster (?1277-1322) succeeded to that earldom in 1298, together with those of Leicester and Derby, to which were added the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury on the death of his father-in-law in 1311. He also had royal connections, of which being first cousin to Edward II was only one. Their comparative youth is worth mentioning; Edward was only 23 when he became king, at which time the earl was 30.

Lancaster was unquestionably the greatest of the magnates, being, after the king, the richest landowner in England, with vast estates in Lancashire, the Midlands, and Yorkshire, in which last was situated his principal residence, Pontefract Castle. These properties were well managed, and could be defended by the earl's private army. In addition, he was Steward of England, an office whose prerogatives seemed to comprise whatever suited Lancaster at the moment. All this, coupled with his great wealth, made him, after an initial, and perhaps surprising, friendly relationship with the king and Gaveston, from about 1309 the natural leader of any opposition to the king.

It has been said of Edward II, who became king in 1307, that 'like his father, he had good looks and bodily strength, but unlike Edward I he had little intelligence ... he depended so completely on "favourites" that his morals, as well as his strength of will,

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1. J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307-1322* (Oxford 1970), 334.

*Note on sources for the 'Historical Background' section:*

Direct quotations, as above, will be separately annotated, but the section derives not only from a reading of Dr. Maddicott's monograph, but also of the following books, set out in alphabetical order of their author's names:

Caroline Bingham, *The Life and Times of Edward II* (London 1973), 52-145.

J. S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall* (Detroit 1988), *passim*.

G. Holmes, *The Later Middle Ages, 1272-1485* (London 1970) 110-115.

May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford 1959), 1-70.

B. Wilkinson, *The Later Middle Ages in England* (Harlow 1969), 117-127.)

came into question.<sup>2</sup> The impression left by Marlowe's *Edward the Second* (which has been recommended for preserving 'the sense of bitter personal hatreds often missed by modern historians')<sup>3</sup> is of a king exclusively devoted to 'frolicing with his minion' (Act I, Sc. ii, line 67) or mourning Gaveston's banishment and subsequent murder. So that it is a pleasant change to recall the occasion when the king paid 50 shillings to 'Jak de Seint Albon, Painter Royal, who danced on a table before the king and made him laugh beyond measure,'<sup>4</sup> or that in 1315-16 the king took a holiday in the Fens 'rowing about on various lakes' with a 'silly company of swimmers'.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, he excelled at such outdoor sports, but unfortunately they were often ones which his barons, no doubt including Lancaster, would regard as unfitting for a king. But even more deeply shocking to them would have been his un-kingly mastery of rural crafts, such as thatching and farriery, instead of the aristocratic sports of jousting and hunting. The present writer's impression is that it was not so much intelligence in which Edward was deficient, as in a total lack of tact. Thus his lack of appreciation of his situation resulted in his failure to see that a king, especially one like himself who was burdened with the vast debts left by his father's wars, could only hope to achieve good government by the extremely diplomatic handling of the great magnates, who had in the first place, contrary to the general belief, been well-disposed towards him on his accession.

Though the earls liked to disparage his birth, Piers, or Peter, Gaveston was the son of a minor Gascon noble, and had given such an excellent impression to Edward I that the latter had made him one of the ten royal wards, who were the official companions of the king's heir, Edward of Caernarvon. Their relationship was already such that Gaveston was banished by the old king in 1307, but on such favourable terms to Gaveston as to suggest that it was his own son that Edward I regarded as blameworthy. The king died in the same year and on his accession Edward II began his doubtless unwitting antagonisation of the magnates by immediately recalling Gaveston and creating him earl of Cornwall, an earldom meant to be reserved for members of the royal family; then, the king's own niece was chosen to be Gaveston's bride; and when the king went to France for his own marriage, the offence of the nobles was augmented by his appointing as regent, not one of them, but Gaveston. Of the properties given by the king to Gaveston, a good proportion were in Yorkshire, comprising the castle and honour of Knaresborough, the manors of Aldborough and Roecliffe, the manor of Borstwick, and the castle and manor of Skipton-in-Craven. The fact that they were in the same county as Pontefract suggests that any incidental irritation this might have caused to Lancaster would not have come amiss to the king and Gaveston.

Thus from the start there were these various manifestations of the king's obsession with extravagant generosity. It was also folly of the king to allow Gaveston to make the barons the subject of his wit publicly, while their detestation of him must have been heightened by the fact that Gaveston could not be accused of effeminacy; 'he could unhorse his enemies in the lists as neatly as he could bestow a wounding insult.'<sup>6</sup> Though Gaveston's overbearing conduct at the coronation of Edward II in 1308 gave great offence, what probably brought the enmity of the barons against Gaveston to a head was his control, which they thought ought to be theirs, over the extremely valuable and all-pervasive royal patronage.

After a short banishment of Gaveston to Ireland in 1308, where he seems to have

2. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* in n.1, 117.

3. Holmes, *op. cit.* in n.1, 110.

4. G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation* (Cambridge 1953), 74.

5. N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry* (London 1984), 208.

6. Bingham, *op. cit.* in n.1, 62.

acquitted himself creditably, the final attempt to exile him was begun by the magnates, supported by Archbishop Winchelsey, and now thoroughly antagonised by the king and his favourite, submitting to Edward in 1310 a long list of grievances and compelling him to agree to the setting up of a committee called the Lords Ordainers, of whom Lancaster was a leader. They produced Ordinances comprising 41 articles, the 20th of which required the banishment of Gaveston (and others) 'as an open enemy of the king and his people.'<sup>7</sup> It has been said that 'the overmastering impulse behind the Ordinances was the desire to end the thralldom in which a weak king was held by a greedy and foolish favourite.'<sup>8</sup> Yet among the administrative and financial reforms which were also contained in the Ordinances were some whose incidental effects were of some benefit to the poor, though so far as the king was concerned, he complained that the Ordinances put him in the same position 'as one would provide for an idiot'<sup>9</sup> and he had no intention of complying with them any longer than he could help. After some delay, Gaveston left the country in early November, 1311, but there is some evidence that he was found to be spending Christmas with the king at Windsor, whereupon the excommunication threatened by Winchelsey took effect. The king and Gaveston thereafter went north in the hope that Robert the Bruce would safeguard Gaveston if he stayed in Scotland, but this came to nothing. It is not necessary for present purposes to detail all the marches and counter-marches, save to mention that Lancaster played an active part in the obstruction, militarily, of the king. It all ended on 19 June, 1312, notwithstanding an oath of safety given to Gaveston by Pembroke, and after Gaveston had been kidnapped by Warwick, with Lancaster having Gaveston beheaded on one of the earl's estates by two members of his retinue, who presented their master with the severed head; the earl claimed to have acted under the authority of the Ordinances. Gaveston's death left Pembroke feeling that his honour had been impugned, while the king's grief and rage, coupled with the part Lancaster had already played in circumscribing the king's functions under the Ordinances, made him regard Lancaster as his greatest enemy, upon whom he was determined to wreak his revenge when this became possible.

At this time, Robert the Bruce's constant raids on northern England made the king decide that a successful campaign against him might do much to restore his own status, and enable him to deal with Lancaster. The latter, however, further offended the king by refusing to join him personally in the campaign, and by sending only the minimum of troops required by his feudal obligations. The king's army suffered a humiliating defeat at Bannockburn in 1314, though the king is said to have fought like a lion, having to be dragged from the battlefield, as otherwise he would have been killed. However, his mortification was increased by Lancaster's evident pleasure at the king's defeat and the fact that the earl had meantime raised a considerable force in England, rightly fearing that, had Edward been victorious, the royal army would next have been turned against him. As it was, with the king's army scattered, it was he who was at Lancaster's mercy. The latter began by insisting that members of the royal household be replaced, in most cases, by the earl's own men. Edward sought consolation by arranging a sumptuous funeral for Gaveston which most of the great magnates found excuses for not attending. Throughout 1315 Lancaster continued to entrench his position by insisting on compliance with the Ordinances, and as a result he gained the support of all classes of the community as the defender of their rights and privileges as against the crown. Early in 1316 he was appointed by the Lincoln parliament as the king's chief councillor whose assent was necessary for every

7. *Ibid.* 66.

8. McKisack, *op. cit.* in n.1, 21.

9. Bingham, *op. cit.* in n.1, 70-71.

administrative act. It cannot, however, be said that the earl showed much aptitude for political matters other than general support for the Ordinances. He also had a reluctance to attend court or other meetings, even to the extent of ignoring formal summonses, which was particularly ill-advised, as by this time Lancaster had lost the friends to whom he could safely have delegated his powers. Also unfortunately for Lancaster, this period coincided with particularly bad harvests, leading to famine, and with the Scots king continuing his raids on northern England, though, remarkably, always leaving any property of Lancaster's unscathed.

It was at this stage that, after having enjoyed four years of something approaching absolute power, Lancaster began to be outdone, influence having begun to pass to those who had been persuaded, mostly by the royal munificence, to become the king's friends, so that in the end it was not the popular idea of barons led by Lancaster against the king, but king and barons against Lancaster. Thus, the earl lost control of the standing council set up to dictate to the king by the Treaty of Leake in 1318. The following year the likelihood of some understanding existing between the Bruce and Lancaster was underlined by the Scots marching as far south as Pontefract castle, the earl's chief residence, but leaving it unharmed.

The king's opportunity for revenge on Lancaster at last arose quite by accident. The queen had been insulted in October, 1321, at Leeds castle (Kent), for the avenging of which the king found himself with an unexpectedly strong military support, and succeeded in taking the castle. Now that the king had a victorious army behind him, his next target could be Lancaster. Edward 'shrewdly chilled any possible northern sympathy for [the earl] by accusing him of intrigue with the Scots.'<sup>10</sup> Now that the end of Lancaster's period of greatness was in sight, it became clear that he had not succeeded in inspiring much loyalty; the inevitable conflict ended at Boroughbridge, near Ripon, where, by a combination of prior desertions, ill luck, and the loss of his infantry commanders, Lancaster was obliged to surrender to the king's general on 17 March, 1322. He was taken as a prisoner to his own castle at Pontefract, to be convicted of treason, based on his recent battles with the king's army and on many other counts, including being in league with the Scots, having been tried by the king and at least seven of his peers, who acquiesced without demur. He was beheaded outside Pontefract on 22 March; the execution was 'a bad piece of work, and was effected only after a number of attempts had been made at decapitation.'<sup>11</sup> – a point which will be of some importance hereafter. With the king's permission, the body was buried near the high altar at Pontefract priory.

#### *'Saint' Thomas.*

Though condemned as a traitor by the king, yet 'men were ready to see Lancaster as a second de Montfort, the Ordinances which he had championed as a second Great Charter' who 'had died in conflict with a king whom none could respect ... For the unhappy subjects of Edward II, earl Thomas thus became a symbol of resistance ... the upholder of ancient liberties against new-fangled tyranny.'<sup>12</sup>

Surprisingly soon after his death, Lancaster became a 'political saint'. Thus, within six weeks of his death news of miracles at his tomb were brought to Edward II at the York parliament. No particulars of the exact nature of the miracles appear to be available, but presumably they would be the usual sort of miraculous cures. After the

10. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* in n.1, 127.

11. E. W. Tristram, 'The Wall Paintings at South Newington', *Burlington Magazine* lxii (1933), 114-129, at 123.

12. McKisack, *op. cit.* in n.1, 69-70.

king had sent an envoy to confirm these miracles (perhaps he was incredulous) an armed guard was sent to Pontefract to close the priory church.<sup>13</sup> The king's action was no doubt prompted by the realisation that one result would be the growth of a cult which would be used for propaganda of an anti-royalist nature. The priory church having been closed, 'the weeping crowds ... then transferred their devotion to the place of Lancaster's execution.'<sup>14</sup> These were not purely local manifestations such as might have been expected from the earl's doubtless numerous dependents in Pontefract; about the same time an unspecified miracle connected with Lancaster occurred in old St. Paul's church in London. Some authors say it happened at an image of Lancaster in that church,<sup>15</sup> while others say the site of the miracle was at 'the tablet which the earl had set up in St. Paul's to commemorate the king's affirmation of the Ordinances – strong evidence of the popular connection between Lancaster's name and the reforms.'<sup>16</sup> The present writer suggests that both may be right and that the earl would have seen nothing untoward in celebrating his triumph over the king by both setting up a memorial tablet and ensuring that it included a statue of himself. The various manifestations do much to confirm Lancaster's popularity with the poor, who, though this is often overlooked, were also part of the opposition to Edward II.

The king was himself deposed and murdered in 1327 and in that year 'petition was made in Parliament for an approach to Rome in respect of a possible canonisation [of Lancaster], since this had already been anticipated by popular acclaim.'<sup>17</sup> On 28 February, 1327, Edward III wrote to the Pope requesting the earl's canonisation; which request was never granted although repeated in 1330 and 1331, after which the matter seems to have been allowed to drop. It may seem odd that the new king should have agreed to make these representations in relation to a man convicted of treason to his father; one view on this point is that 'it suited the policy of Edward III ... to foster the public's memory of Edward II's "murder" of Thomas of Lancaster and his reign of despotic injustice.'<sup>18</sup> but another opinion is that 'Edward III had bowed to public feeling and parliamentary petition with repeated efforts to procure a papal inquiry into the reputed miracles of the earl.'<sup>19</sup> The present writer suggests that the latter interpretation is more likely; after all, Edward III was only 15 at the time of the first petition and was then still under the tutelage of his mother, queen Isabella, and Mortimer.

Though no more petitions were presented, the 'sainthood' of Lancaster was by no means merely a nine days' wonder; in 1359 blood was said to have been seen flowing from his tomb, and a chantry chapel to his memory was built *c.* 1361 on top of the hill on which he had been executed.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, in the last decade (1389- 1399) of Richard II's reign 'there was a widespread popular belief that Lancaster had been canonised' and that according to Thomas of Walsingham this had taken place in 1390; moreover, 'the accession of Henry IV [in 1399] saw a revival of the veneration of ... Lancaster.'<sup>21</sup> 'In 1466, after the capture and imprisonment of Henry VI in the Tower, blood flowed from the tomb of Lancaster as it had in 1359.'<sup>22</sup> Finally, up to the time of the

13. Maddicott, *op. cit.* in n.1, 329.

14. McKisack, *op. cit.* in n.1, 69.

15. For example, J. W McKenna, 'Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda: the Cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum* xlv (1970), 608-623 at 610 n.5.

16. For example, Maddicott, *op. cit.* in n.1, 330.

17. Tristram, *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London 1955) 72.

18. H. Tait, 'Pilgrim-Signs and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster', *British Museum Quarterly* xx (1955-56) 39-47 at 45.

19. McKenna, *op. cit.* in n.15, 610, n.7.

20. *V.C.H. Yorkshire* iii (1913) 186, n.30.

21. McKenna, *op. cit.* in n.15, 610, n.7.

22. *Ibid.* 622.

Reformation (c. 1535) Lancaster's 'hat and belt were still preserved at Pontefract as respective remedies for headaches and the dangers of childbirth.'<sup>23</sup>

On the general question of the failure to achieve Lancaster's canonisation, it has been argued that had he 'lived in the tenth or eleventh centuries, there is little doubt that [he] would quickly have received the prefix of saint to which [his] cultus must have entitled [him].'<sup>24</sup> However, the procedure adopted in the case of Becket, whose canonisation in 1173 was preceded by an investigation by two papal commissioners into his life and miracles, appears to have set the precedent for the need of a papal inquiry for all subsequent English cases (with the exception of that of little St. Hugh of Lincoln)<sup>25</sup> and that in Lancaster's case 'the Pope utterly refused to grant a commission of inquiry,'<sup>26</sup> so that canonisation was not possible.

Even if it had not been for this procedural difficulty, the earl's qualifications for sainthood in the usual, religious, sense of the word were minimal. Thus, the *Dictionary of National Biography* says: 'Despite his tragic end, it is difficult to say anything favourable of Thomas of Lancaster. Marked out ... for the role of leader of the barons in their revolt against the favouritism, extravagance, and misgovernment of Edward II, he signally failed to show either patriotism, farsightedness, or even the more common virtues of a good party leader. His only policy was a sort of passive resistance to the crown, which generally took the form of refusing to do anything whatever to aid his cousin so long as his personal enemies remained unbanished ... The only thing in which he was consistent was the unrelenting hatred with which he pursued those who offended him.'<sup>27</sup> Another opinion was that he was his own worst enemy, since although 'he lacked political capacity, his ambitions were essentially political.'<sup>28</sup> He has also been described as 'the most impossible of medieval politicians' and as 'the ideal leader for a party without ideals'; 'most effective in opposition' yet, when he had a chance to govern, 'his ideas on government were no whit superior to the king's'; even his support of the Ordinances has been dismissed as, basically, self-interest.<sup>29</sup> This welter of condemnation makes one wonder whether it is too categorical, but all that the present writer has been able to find on the credit side is that Lancaster 'had always been generous with his gifts to the poor and a bountiful patron of the clergy', but even this is prefixed by a description of him as rude, insolent, and a murderer.<sup>30</sup> Though perhaps being generous to the poor in Lancaster's day and age was not a virtue to be lightly dismissed. The verdict on the earl has been summed up as a man 'suffering a political death which to a very large part of Europe must have seemed justified, [who] lacked practically every qualification to rank as a religious saint.'<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand, as a 'political saint', it has been said of him that 'as a martyr to the tyranny of Edward II, as a worker of miracles and candidate for official canonisation, Lancaster had provided the impetus for a politico-religious cult which helped to unite popular opposition to the king.'<sup>32</sup>

It should be added that though Lancaster did not achieve official sainthood,

23. Maddicott, *op. cit.* in n.1, 329.

24. Margaret R. Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester 1929), 144.

25. *Ibid.* 143.

26. *Ibid.* 153, n.2.

27. W. E. Rhodes, *Dictionary of National Biography*, lvi ed. S. Lee (London 1898), 151.

28. McKisack, *op. cit.* in n.1, 68.

29. Bingham, *op. cit.* in n.1, 114.

30. Tait, *op. cit.* in n.18, 45.

31. J. C. Russell, 'The Canonisation of Opposition to the King in Angevin England' in *Haskins Anniversary Essays in Medieval History* ed. C. H. Taylor (Boston and New York 1929) 279-290 at 285.

32. McKenna, *op. cit.* in n.15, 609.

Professor E. W. Tristram states that he was beatified, and consistently refers to him as the Blessed Thomas. Since Tristram gives no authority for this, the present writer thought it best to take the matter up with the Roman Catholic authorities, and has been told by the Archivist to the Westminster Diocese that 'the usage of the term 'blessed' is partisan in this case.'<sup>33</sup> Perhaps, therefore, the history of the cult is incomplete without adding that there was evidently a revival of it in the mid-twentieth century!

*'Political Canonisations' Generally.*

Lancaster's was by no means the only case of a political, anti-royalist, nature where canonisation was sought. He himself had been instrumental in trying to obtain the canonisation of Archbishop Winchelsey ('commonly regarded as a second Becket')<sup>34</sup> but this was another case where a papal commission of inquiry was refused.<sup>35</sup> All that the earl got out of it was a rebuff from the Pope for trying to hurry him.<sup>36</sup> In addition to Lancaster and Winchelsey, contemporary anti-royalist leaders who were honoured, at least partially, as 'saints' were Hugh of Avalon (Bishop of Lincoln), Stephen Langton, Edmund of Abingdon, Robert Grosseteste (Bishop of Lincoln) and Simon de Montfort.<sup>37</sup> These names demonstrate that 'the English people had shown that they regarded a number of anti-royal leaders as saints largely on account of their political activity. Each of these men had combatted one or more acts of the king's in which the latter seemed clearly wrong in the eyes of many Englishmen ... [so that] the leaders probably came to represent justice and even God.'<sup>38</sup> Such 'saints' had the advantage in that they could usually be invoked as a covert way of criticising the king, and that it was they who had suffered violence rather than the king. Their 'sainthood' offset the treason alleged against them, while it also tended to neutralise the supernatural powers of royalty, such as the supposed power of the royal touch to cure scrofula. And in any event, in the Middle Ages saints ranked higher than kings. Though it has been said that, with the growth of the powers of parliament in the fourteenth century, political 'sainthood' went into a permanent decline,<sup>39</sup> it was still effective in the case of Richard Scrope, the Archbishop of York, who was executed in 1405 for rebellion against the usurper, Henry IV.<sup>40</sup>

## THE ICONOGRAPHY.

Some examples of the iconography associated with the cult of Thomas of Lancaster survive and, now that the background has been sketched in, they can best be described under headings corresponding with the various media in which they have been executed; the order of the following is merely alphabetical.

*Illuminated Manuscripts.*

'The Book of Hours was the standard book of popular devotion in Western Europe

33. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.11 at 123, and *op. cit.* in n.17 at 72, 73 and a letter dated 7 January, 1991, to the present writer from the Rev. Fr. J. Dickie, Archivist to the Westminster Diocese.

34. McKisack, *op. cit.* in n.1, 69.

35. Toynbee, *op. cit.* in n.1, 153 and n.2.

36. *Ibid.* 154.

37. Russell, *op. cit.* in n.31, 284.

38. *Ibid.* 285.

39. *Ibid.*, summarising 286-290.

40. McKenna, *op. cit.* in n.15, *passim*.

during the late Middle Ages ... essentially it contained a series of short services ... designed to be recited at different times of the day and night.<sup>41</sup> Among the books of hours in the Bodleian Library is MS Douce 231, of 113 folios and small in size, being only 156 by 108mm, perhaps intentionally, so that it could be the medieval equivalent of pocketable. In the *Catalogue of the Age of Chivalry Exhibition* (1987) it is dated c. 1325-30,<sup>42</sup> but Dr. Lynda Dennison puts it at c. 1340-3.<sup>43</sup> The earlier dates would of course fit in better with those of the petitions for Lancaster's canonisation. The book begins with a series of illustrations of pairs of popular saints, and the very first folio depicts Lancaster standing at the right hand of St. George (Plate 1), so that it seems likely that the unknown original owner must have been a partisan of the cult of 'saint' Lancaster. 'The juxtaposition of Thomas Earl of Lancaster (his arms carefully emblazoned on his surcoat) and St. George ... suggests the elevation of the earl ... to a position as a symbol of England ... the placement of this image at the head of a series of miniatures of favourite saints suggests that Thomas is being put forward as a saint himself – even though he is not yet shown with a halo.'<sup>44</sup> The present writer points out that on the next folio after the one just described are paintings of St. John the Baptist, on the left, and St. John the Evangelist. This may be purely accidental, but it could equally well have been intended to draw a deliberate parallel, by analogy with the pairing of Lancaster and St. George, between the earl and the Baptist, who was also beheaded by a tyrannical monarch. It is also of interest to note that the devotional part of this book of hours includes a litany invoking Bishop Robert Grosseteste,<sup>45</sup> who, as already mentioned, was another of the 'political saints' who was never officially canonised.

Psalters were another form of personal prayerbook, but they were essentially devoted to psalms (hence the name) and canticles. There is no doubt about the original ownership of the Luttrell psalter (British Library, Add. MS 42130), since its f. 202v shows 'a mounted knight, fully equipped with the arms of Luttrell ... above this miniature the original scribe had written [in Latin] "The Lord Geoffrey Luttrell caused me to be made".'<sup>46</sup> From internal evidence this must have taken place between 1320 and 1340,<sup>47</sup> Dennison putting it at c. 1340.<sup>48</sup> It contains 309 leaves, the last one having been lost. Unlike the book of hours already dealt with, it is of ample size, each leaf measuring about 260mm by 245mm. Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (1276-1345) 'had early links with the family of Thomas of Lancaster', while included in the Luttrell estates was 'the Yorkshire manor of Hooton Pagnell, northwest of Doncaster'; Pontefract castle was 'less than nine miles north of Hooton Pagnell as the crow flies.'<sup>49</sup> Among the miniatures in the margins of f. 56 are Samson and the lion; a long-bowman; and a cross-bowman. None of them has any relevance to the final drawing, described (with a reference to the botched nature of the execution, already mentioned) as 'in the lower margin, on the left, an executioner beheads a kneeling man with a gold sword; the victim's neck is already gashed. (Plate 2) Under the sword the word "lancastres" is faintly written in plummet<sup>50</sup> so that this apparently represents the execution ... of

41. Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London 1985), 3.

42. *Catalogue of the Exhibition, The Age of Chivalry*, ed. P. Binski (London 1987) 254.

43. Lynda Dennison, ' "The Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies": A Re-appraisal' in *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge 1986), 65, Appendix 2.

44. Lucy F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285-1385* (Oxford 1986) ii 96.

45. *Catalogue – Age of Chivalry, op. cit.* in n.42, 254.

46. Janet Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London 1989), 5.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Dennison, *op. cit.* in n.43, 65, Appendix 2.

49. Backhouse, *op. cit.* in n.46, 16, 17, 28.

50. As to 'plummet', the *Oxford English Dictionary* xi (Oxford 1989, 2nd edition) 1080 states that this was 'a pencil of lead, formerly used to rule lines; a lead-pen. Obsolete.'

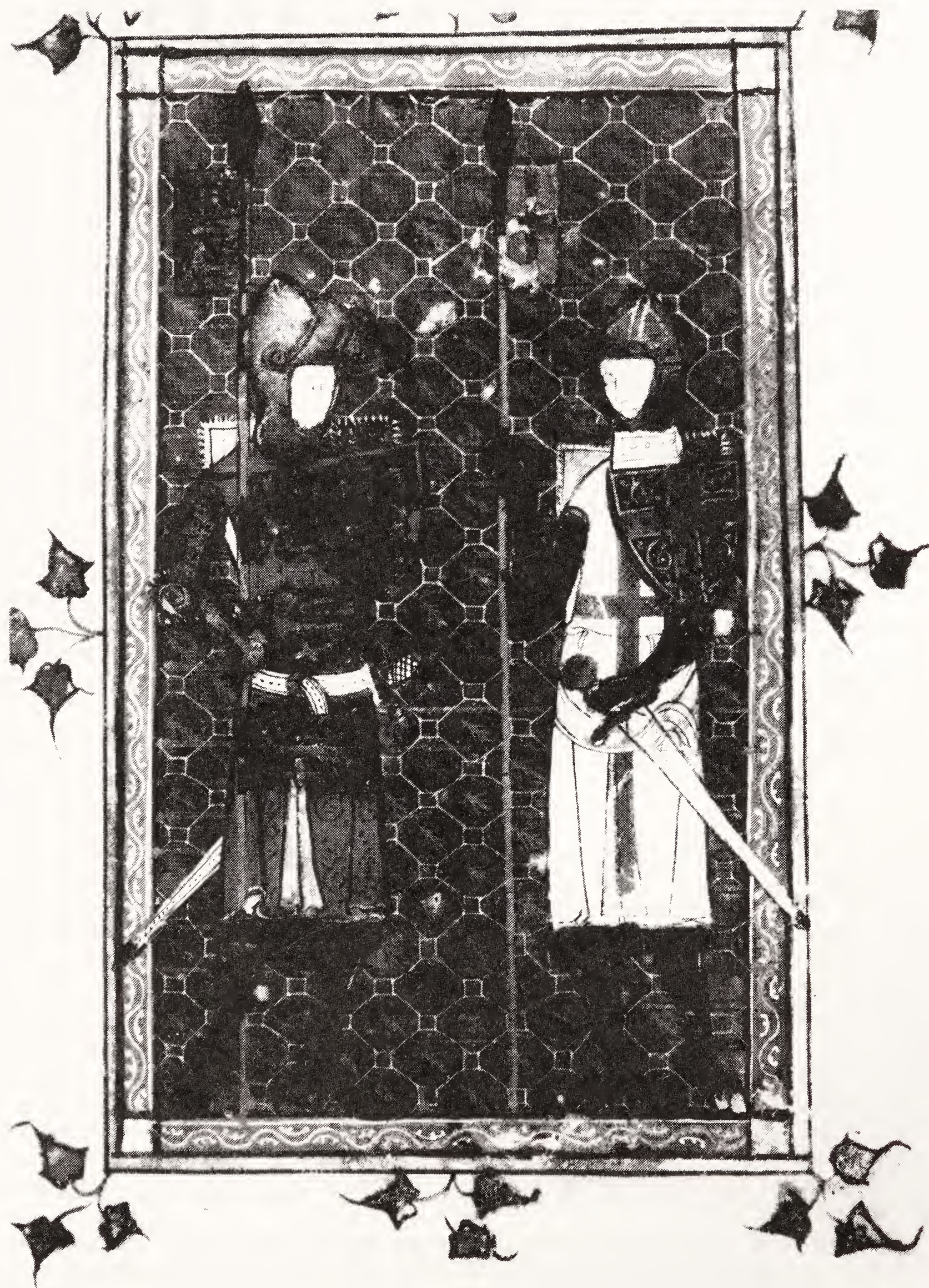


Plate 1. Book of Hours, Douce MS 231, folio 1r., with Lancaster (left) and St. George. Photograph by courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



Plate 2. The Luttrell Psalter, Add. 42130, marginal illustration from folio 56r, showing the execution of Lancaster; faint traces of the word 'lancastres' immediately below the sword blade can be made out. Photograph by permission of the British Library.

Thomas, earl of Lancaster ... this note is perhaps rather later in date than the miniature, and it is just possible ... that it may have been added for the benefit of a later owner of the manuscript.<sup>51</sup> The psalter includes a calendar, in which are five obits which suggest the identity of the subsequent owners; the latest of these commemorates Joan de Bohun, dowager countess of Hereford, who probably acquired the book in the 1370s or 1380s. Her mother, being the sister of Henry of Grosmont, duke of Lancaster,<sup>52</sup> was a niece of Thomas of Lancaster. Countess Joan may thus perhaps have been the 'later owner' for whose information 'lancastres' was pencilled on to the miniature.

The present writer notes that only a few leaves before f. 56, namely, on f. 53v, there is another portrayal of St. John the Baptist, but unlike the Douce MS 231 picture, he is here shown being beheaded, like the earl on f. 56, and also like the earl, already has a

51. E. G. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London 1932), 28.

52. Backhouse, *op. cit.* in n.46, 60.

gash on his neck. Can there be much doubt that the Baptist was so represented in order to prepare the reader for what was to follow only three folios ahead?

A third case of an illuminated manuscript, but in this case of only possible relevance, is the book of hours in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, U.S.A., (MS W. 105). It is 210mm by 140mm and has been dated in the *Catalogue of the Age of Chivalry Exhibition* at c. 1340-50,<sup>53</sup> though Dennison puts it at c. 1340-3.<sup>54</sup> It was originally owned by the Butler family of Wem (Shropshire), and contains 'suffrages'<sup>55</sup> for St. Thomas of Canterbury and "St." Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>56</sup> A 'miniature of Thomas of Canterbury is placed opposite his suffrage, suggesting that Thomas of Lancaster was probably given similar treatment'<sup>57</sup> but f. 14, the leaf which might have contained the painting of Lancaster, is lost.<sup>58</sup> There would certainly have been justification for the two Thomases being paired, since 'a kind of communion [existed] between these saints, [for example,] the comparisons of de Montford and Lancaster to Becket.'<sup>59</sup> It has however to be said that in the present case the pairing would have been somewhat remote, since, on the latest interpretation of the foliation, the two leaves would have been well separated. On the other hand, a point which helps to confirm the likelihood of a miniature of Lancaster is the fact that 'on the f. 13r (the recto of the suffrage of Thomas of Lancaster) [is] the miniature of Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.'<sup>60</sup> It will be remembered that it was their portraits which were immediately adjacent to that of Lancaster in the Douce MS 231, described above, and perhaps the Baptist is there in the present case for the same reason.

The loss of the leaf which could have contained the Lancaster miniature is of course highly regrettable, and in its absence it can only be said that the foregoing points make it very probable, though not certain, that the Walters book of hours did originally include a portrayal of Thomas of Lancaster. The absence of the appropriate folio also means that, even if it did originally depict Lancaster, there is no means of knowing whether he would have been shown in knightly guise, as in the Douce MS 231, or, as in the Luttrell psalter, at the moment of his execution.

### *Pilgrim Badges.*

After Lancaster's execution at Pontefract in 1322, 'pilgrimages to his tomb began as a result of reported miracles there.'<sup>61</sup> As an indication of the extent to which the cult had already spread after only one year, some 2,000 pilgrims from Kent, Essex, Lancashire, and other counties were present at Pontefract in 1323, and rioted when excluded from the place of execution, killing two of the guards.<sup>62</sup> The greater part of them, and all other pilgrims, would have had every inducement to buy pilgrims'

53. *Catalogue – Age of Chivalry, op. cit.* in n.42, 255.

54. Dennison, *op. cit.* in n.43, 65, Appendix 2.

55. In the 'Literature' portion of her comments on this book of hours, Sandler (*op. cit.* in n.44; 130-131) includes an article by J. T. Micklethwaite, 'Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited', *Archaeol. J.* xxxvi (1879), 103-104, but gives no reason for doing so. In a letter dated 18 September, 1990, to the present writer, Dr. Elizabeth Burin, Assistant Curator, Manuscripts and Rare Books, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore confirms that the book of hours dealt with by Micklethwaite is in fact MS. W.105. The suffrage, consisting of a series of petitions by the priest, with answers by the people, is set out on p. 104 of his article.

56. *Catalogue – Age of Chivalry, op. cit.* in n.42, 255.

57. From a letter dated 4 September, 1990, from Dr. Elizabeth Burin (see n.55) to the present writer.

58. *Catalogue – Age of Chivalry, op. cit.* in n.42, 255.

59. Russell, *op. cit.* in n.31, 285.

60. Burin, *op. cit.* in n.57.

61. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.17, 72

62. Maddicott, *op. cit.* in n.1, 329, 330.

badges, because these 'were not worn simply as badges of achievement ... they were valuable as instantly recognisable passports ... for the pilgrim was a sacrosanct person to whom all good Christians were expected to give help and sustenance ... much more important, however, pilgrim badges were worn for their supposed miraculous properties. By popular belief they were secondary relics, holy and wonder-working in themselves.'<sup>63</sup>

A typical pilgrim badge, now in the British Museum (Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, 1955, 10-1, 1), is made of lead and shows a mitred bust surrounded by a circular band. It is 38mm in diameter and almost certainly represents St. Thomas of Canterbury.<sup>64</sup> Hugh Tait's persuasive review of the circumstantial evidence has suggested that this badge might well have belonged to Lancaster, lost in February, 1322, with his treasure at Tutbury (Staffs.) in the course of his retreat which ended at Boroughbridge.<sup>65</sup> If so, it would constitute a strange anticipation of the affinity, already mentioned, which after Lancaster's death his devotees were to see between him and Becket.

Quite untypical of a pilgrim's badge, but the most detailed pictorial record of scenes from Lancaster's life and downfall which has survived is another example (Plate 3), also in the British Museum (Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, 1954, 5-2, 1). Measuring 168mm high by 128mm wide,<sup>66</sup> and made of lead, it would have been too large and heavy to have been worn, so that 'its purpose is therefore conjectural; possibly it was a poor-man's devotional plaque, the equivalent of an ivory diptych. If it had been sewn on to a cloth ground with a wood backing, painted and gilded, it might well have been carried home from the shrine by the humbler pilgrim.'<sup>67</sup> Though not strictly a badge, it can be regarded as at least a souvenir of a pilgrimage. It is topped by a Crucifixion, but, of the figures of St. John the Evangelist and (presumably) the Virgin Mary on either side of it, only the former remains. On the pinnacles below are St. Paul, on the left, with his sword, and St. Peter, on the right, holding his key. In the gable between them is the figure of Christ seated on a rainbow, the latter being the token of God's covenant with the earth after the flood (Genesis 9: 13) and commonly figuring in contemporary paintings of the Last Judgement. Below Christ are two figures, the right-hand one swinging a censer and the other doing likewise, though his censer is lost; this was, by convention, one of the functions of angels, but the wings are lost also.

Outside the main framework, and on either side of it are what Tait calls 'two projecting gabled "niches" ', and each of the four niches is occupied by a single figure whom he regards as being a saint; in the upper left-hand side niche the figure, according to Tait, is standing inside a chest with handles projecting upwards at the sides, but despite the assistance of Professor Wormald, Tait could only describe this figure as a 'mysterious saint'.<sup>68</sup> The saint in the thirteenth-century miniature to which Tait was referred by Wormald is undoubtedly standing in a box, but in the view of the present writer there is no reason to suppose that the saint in question is adopting this rather unusual posture; he is merely standing behind the chest. If so, he is likely to be St. Antony of Padua (1195-1231), one of the legends about him being that, preaching at a miser's funeral, he quoted Luke 12: 34, 'Where your wealth is, there will your heart

63. B. W. Spencer, 'Medieval Pilgrim Badges', *Rotterdam Papers: a contribution to medieval archaeology* ed. J. G. N. Renaud (Rotterdam 1968) i, 137-153 at 143.

64. Tait, *op. cit.* in n.18, 39.

65. *Ibid.* 39, 40.

66. *Ibid.* 40.

67. *Ibid.* 40.

68. *Ibid.* 41.

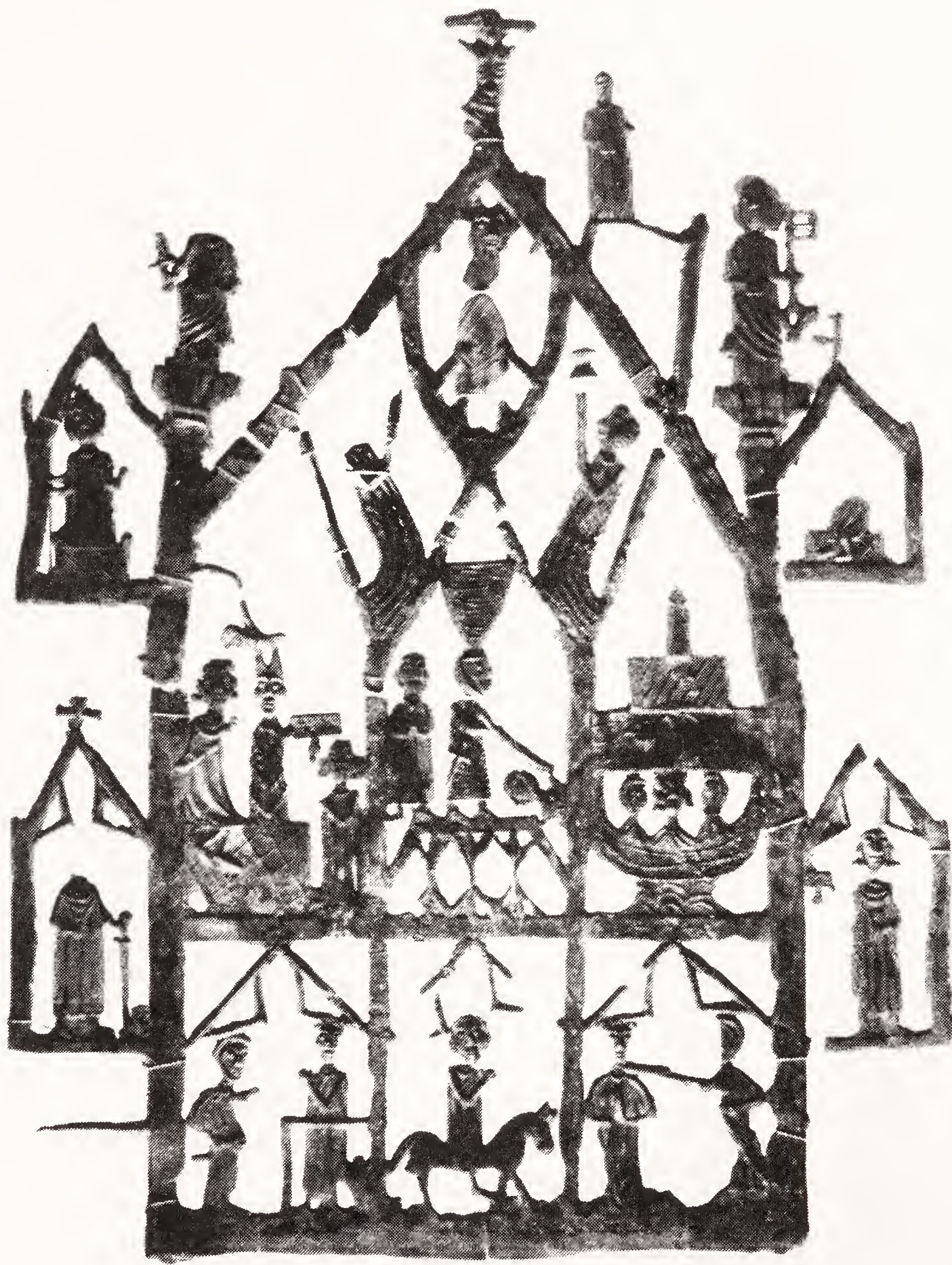


Plate 3. Pilgrim's devotional plaque showing scenes from the life and downfall of Lancaster. (MLA 1954, 5-2, 1). Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

be also.<sup>69</sup> The present scene shows St. Antony with the miser's treasure-chest before him, which, on being opened, is found to contain the miser's heart. This incident might well have been chosen to emphasise that, unlike the miser, one of Lancaster's good qualities was, as mentioned above, that of being generous to the poor. As to the figures in the other niches, Tait suggests that 'St. James the Greater, Apostle, is perhaps represented in the lower left "niche"; the others are unidentifiable.'<sup>70</sup> Apart from the fact that the shrine of this saint at Compostella, northern Spain, was one of the

69. J. Hall, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (London 1985), 21.

70. Tait, *op. cit.* in n.18, 41.

principal places of pilgrimage in all Europe, there seems not even to be the saint's emblem of a scallop shell to identify him, but as to the occupants of the two right-hand niches, the present writer respectfully concurs in Tait's opinion.

The remainder of this plaque consists of two tiers, each with three compartments, and it is in these parts that the scenes from the life of Lancaster are portrayed. Starting from the left-hand side of the upper tier, there is a king on the left, a bishop in the middle holding a document with a seal hanging from it, and a person kneeling on the right. This no doubt represents one of the several occasions when Lancaster wrung concessions from Edward II, Tait favouring that which arose out of the Treaty of Leake in 1318, in which bishops played a prominent part. The kneeling man must be Lancaster. The middle compartment shows the bridge during the battle of Boroughbridge. Since the earl fought at the ford, rather than on the bridge itself, the designer of the plaque is indulging in artist's licence in depicting the earl on it in armour, slaying a foe with his sword, while behind him stands someone thought to be a cleric, since his hands are joined in prayer. To avoid any doubts about the identity of the central figure, the artist has placed a shield over his head, which, notwithstanding the absence of any heraldic 'label', Tait regards as being that of Lancaster. The remaining four compartments illustrate the stages in the earl's downfall, following his defeat. Thus, the right-hand compartment of the upper tier shows 'the boat conveying the captured earl, humiliatingly dressed in his own servant's livery, to York. [The artist] has even tried to depict York Minster.'<sup>71</sup> On the lower tier, the left-hand compartment shows Lancaster on the right at his trial, and on the left, one of his judges; Tait comments that 'it was one of the chief aspects of his "martyrdom" that he was not given a fair trial, but condemned out of hand, as he had condemned Piers Gaveston in 1312.'<sup>72</sup> The middle compartment shows what the chronicler on whom Tait relies, William de Packington, describes as Lancaster being taken to the place of execution 'on a lene white Jade with owt Bridil, and he then cryed out "King of Heven, have mercy on me".'<sup>73</sup> The execution itself is depicted in the right-hand compartment of the lower tier. Tait claims that 'there is no other known set of scenes illustrating the life and death of this "saint",'<sup>74</sup> which would have been justifiable had he added 'surviving', since something very similar might well have been depicted on the vestments referred to below.

As to dating, the plaque cannot of course be earlier than 1322, and can be ascribed to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

One other pilgrim's badge relates to Lancaster (Plate 4). It was described in the *Catalogue of the Age of Chivalry Exhibition* as having been found at Billingsgate in 1984 and is now in the British Museum (M.L.A. 1984, 5 - 5,2).<sup>75</sup> It is dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century and is made of tin-lead; it is 91mm high and 60mm wide and represents the execution of Lancaster and the ascent of his soul to heaven. The soul is borne aloft by two angels, one on either side of the badge, and heaven is again represented by Christ seated on a rainbow. As this is the British Museum's attribution, it is not necessary to speculate whether the badge might represent some other, doubtless English, saint who had been beheaded, such as St. Alban (died c. 287 ?)<sup>76</sup> and whose soul, as might be expected, had ascended to heaven.

71. *Ibid.* 43.

72. *Ibid.* 44.

73. *Ibid.* 44.

74. *Ibid.* 44.

75. *Catalogue - Age of Chivalry, op. cit.* in n.42, 223.

76. D. Attwater, *Penguin Dictionary of Saints* (Harmondsworth 1970), 37.



Plate 4. Pilgrim's badge showing the execution of Lancaster and the ascent of his soul to Christ in heaven. (MLA 1984, 5-5, 2). Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

#### *A Tankard.*

Tristram records that 'in 1338 a tankard was sold in London ornamented with an "image of St. [*sic*] Thomas of Lancaster".'<sup>77</sup> The '*sic*' is Tristram's.

#### *Vestments.*

Mention has already been made of the revival of interest in 'St.' Thomas in Henry IV's reign (1399-1413). This was partly due to the fact that Lancaster was a remote

77. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.17, 72, n.2.

ancestor of Bolingbroke, and because the latter had come to the throne by deposing Richard II, so that it must have been thought that Lancaster's life and 'martyrdom' had paved the way for the deposition of Edward II, and was thus a historical precedent for what Bolingbroke had done.

A notable commemoration of Lancaster, by the gift of Henry IV himself, is indicated in the inventories of St. George's chapel at Windsor castle. In the view of the author of the standard work on these inventories, this consisted of 'a complete set of blue vestments embroidered with the life of Thomas, earl of Lancaster.'<sup>78</sup> The present writer notes however that the only article in the inventory which is specifically stated to be so embroidered is 'one orphrey' (gold or other rich embroidery on an ecclesiastical vestment) so that he suggests that it is only this article which can with certainty be said to relate to Lancaster. He has also ascertained that nothing of the gift of Henry IV, nor any picture of it, still exists.<sup>79</sup>

### *The Wall-Painting.*

There is but one surviving medieval wall-painting which could be of Lancaster, and it is situated on the north aisle wall of the church of St. Peter ad Vincula in the village of South Newington (Oxfordshire) which lies on the A361 some nine km. south of Banbury. As will be seen from Plate 5, the wall-painting deals with two subjects, the larger, on the left, showing the murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Becket, in full Mass vestments, except for his mitre, already knocked off his head, kneels before an altar, behind which stands Grim, the only one of his attendants who had not already fled, and who was himself badly wounded, trying to ward off the first sword-blow aimed at the archbishop. The painting shows the moment when Becket's skull has just been cloven by the sword of the third knight from the left. Unfortunately, much of the part of the painting which originally showed the knights has not survived, though the surcoat of the fourth knight from the left is charged with a bear statant proper, thus identifying him as Fitzurse.<sup>80</sup>

To the right of the martyrdom of Becket is a decapitation scene. On the left of it the executioner is shown in such a frenzy to strike his next blow that he is swinging round on one leg, while the victim, kneeling on the right, has already received at least one gash on the neck, from which blood spurts.

The first description of these wall-paintings to propose the identification of the decapitation scene with the execution of Lancaster was by Tristram, writing in 1933,<sup>81</sup> who relied on the fact that this identification had been made by Dr. M. R. James, but the only evidence mentioned by Tristram were the gashes on the victim's neck; as already described, the execution of Lancaster was 'a bad piece of work.' James was a scholar of considerable distinction, and any opinion of his is entitled to the greatest respect, but it would have been of interest to have had his views direct. It might therefore be useful to add, first, the remarkable similarity, apart from the direction faced by the victim, between this portrayal and that of the Luttrell psalter, with which James, as a paleographer, must have been familiar. Secondly, as evidence of the affinity regarded as existing between Lancaster and Becket, already mentioned, an office had been composed for the former in which the parallel with Becket in name and manner of death was stressed; the following is a literal translation of it from the Latin:

78. M. F. Bond, *The Inventories of St. George's Chapel 1384- 1667* (Windsor 1947) 5, 44, 45.

79. Letter of 7 September, 1990, from Dr. Eileen Scarff, the Archivist, St. George's chapel, Windsor castle, to the present writer.

80. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.17, 228.

81. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.11, *passim*.



Plate 5. Detail of the wall-painting of 1330-40 in St. Peter's church, South Newington, Oxon., with, on the left, Becket, his skull cloven by a sword, kneeling, his hands joined in prayer, at an altar which is covered with a diamond-pattern, and behind which is the white surplice of his attendant, Grim. On the right, the presumed figure of Lancaster, blood spurting from his neck, kneels with his back to his executioner. Author's photograph (1990).

'Rejoice, Thomas, ornament of earls, light of Lancaster,  
 Who by your death-by-killing do imitate Thomas of Canterbury;  
 Whose head is crushed for the peace of the Church,  
 And yours is struck off for the sake of the peace of England:  
 Be to us a pious protector in every trial.'<sup>82</sup>

In Tristram's article the identification is accepted, after the reference to the gashed neck, without question, but there follows much speculation about, first, the identification of the heraldry in other paintings in this church, only one coat-of-arms being identified with any certainty, that of Gifford.<sup>83</sup> Secondly, there is also much speculation about how a painting of the execution of Lancaster could have occurred in a village church, but no positive conclusions were reached at this stage. As to the purpose of the wall-painting, Tristram suggested it was 'due to the devotion of a number of faithful followers, and is, perhaps, in the nature of a votive offering for the success of the petition'<sup>84</sup> for canonisation. In which connection, it will be remembered that Tristram believed, misguidedly as now appears, that Lancaster did get as far as beatification.

Apart from the identification of another coat-of-arms as that of Margaret Mortayne, the wife of Thomas Gifford, who are thus established as the donors of the wall-painting, the position is dealt with in much the same terms in Tristram's posthumous volume on fourteenth-century wall-paintings (1955), where again the subject is positively identified as the execution of Lancaster without further discussion, but there is much more speculation about how such a subject came to be chosen. Thus, Lancaster was 'almost undoubtedly' known to the Giffords, who 'may well have had' some close connection with him, while 'it is far from improbable' that the painter might actually have seen Lancaster, and 'it is reasonable to suppose' that the Giffords supported the cause of Lancaster's canonisation and that they 'may have secured' some relic of him.<sup>85</sup> It is a little surprising that Tristram should have devoted so much space to all these suppositions, especially as it was already quite a triumph to have identified the donors of an English medieval wall-painting, a feat which is impossible in the vast majority of cases. To discover, in addition, the motives for the donor choosing a particular subject for a wallpainting (save that some subjects choose themselves – for example, the chancel-arch would normally be painted with a Doom) must be virtually unknown in any other case. Tristram's emphasis on these factors also has the disadvantage that it leads to the suspicion that, unless they could be proved, the identification of the execution of Lancaster would itself be put in doubt.

As to dating, Tristram put this at *c.* 1330-40.<sup>86</sup>

Mr. A. Caiger-Smith, writing in 1963, accepted without question that the painting is 'a unique painting of the murder of Thomas of Lancaster' and added that 'the deliberate association of the death of Thomas of Lancaster with the murder of Thomas Becket is a remarkable piece of pious propaganda.'<sup>87</sup> He was however able to carry the matter a stage further by his discovery that 'a certain John Giffard (*sic*) took part with Thomas of Lancaster and was attainted and executed in the same year. He is known to have owned lands in Oxfordshire and may have been related to the Giffords of South Newington.'<sup>88</sup> If there really had been such a relationship it would of course have been

82. Russell, *op. cit.* in n.31, 285.

83. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.11, 123.

84. *Ibid.* 124.

85. Tristram, *op. cit.* in n.17, 72.

86. *Ibid.* 226.

87. A. Caiger-Smith, *English Medieval Mural Paintings* (Oxford 1963) 93, 94.

88. *Ibid.* 94, n.1.

a convincing argument for the Giffords being supporters of the cult, and for the choice of the subject-matter of the wall-painting.

The latest views on the subject are those of Dr. Paul Binski (1987) who also accepts the identification as that of Lancaster's execution, but puts the dating rather later than that of Tristram.<sup>89</sup>

While the present writer feels bound to accept the views of so many leading authorities that this is a painting of Lancaster's execution, he also feels bound to point out that the evidence remains circumstantial, however emotionally convincing. It is sad that the artist, who lavished heraldry elsewhere in the wall-paintings at South Newington, could not have clinched the matter by adding Lancaster's coat-of-arms to this painting, too.

#### *Possibilities in Other Media.*

Consideration has been given to the possibility that other art-forms might have been used for the purposes of the cult. To deal with them, too, in a purely alphabetical order, *misericords* can be ruled out, since an object which was basically no more than a dual-purpose seat would hardly have lent itself to being a cult-object, nor is there any appropriate entry in G. L. Remnant's laudably comprehensive work on the subject.<sup>90</sup> *Painted panels* such as appear on Rood-screens are a much more likely source but unfortunately there is no book at present which is exclusively devoted to them. The present writer has consulted such other literature on the subject as he is aware of, and has taken the best advice, but it seems fairly certain that there is no surviving panel painting of the earl. *Stained glass* might well have been used, but its fragility needs no emphasis, and Painton Cowen's very complete gazetteer, with its analytical indices,<sup>91</sup> contains nothing relating to Lancaster, and although the earl is indeed mentioned in Sarah Crewe's book on medieval stained glass it would appear that he is referred to merely as one of several examples of contemporary cults rather than because there is any surviving stained glass relating to him.<sup>92</sup> *Stone-carving* or sculpture seems more promising at first blush if only because of its greater permanence, and it does indeed seem very likely that, as mentioned above there was originally a statue of the earl in old St. Paul's. Normally, Lancaster's tomb in the priory church at Pontefract would have been of considerable magnificence, and would certainly have borne a recumbent statue of the earl, but his execution as a traitor might have precluded anything but the simplest of sepulchres. If indeed the skeleton found in March, 1822, at Pontefract were that of Lancaster, this assumption would be supported by the fact that the 'massive antique coffin' containing it was found to be of a single 'undressed stone.' Since the skeleton was 'complete' and of a 'strong athletic man' with a 'rough stone ... laid in place of the head, which rested between the thigh bones', this seems to have been taken at the time, without further evidence, to confirm that it was Lancaster's. Moreover, the discovery had been made by two labourers, who had been sent to 'trench for liquorice' at the Paper Mill field, near the appropriately named St. Thomas's hill, which in itself raises the further difficulty that this is some distance from the earl's

89. P. Binski, 'Style and Date' in C. Norton, D. Park and P. Binski, *Dominican Painting in East Anglia* (Woodbridge 1987) 75 n.70, and 76.

90. G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford 1969).

91. P. Cowen, *A Guide to Stained Glass in Britain* (London 1985).

92. Sarah Crewe, *Stained Glass in England 1180-1540* (London 1987) 46, confirmed by her letter of 1 October, 1990, to the present writer.

burial-place in the chapel of the priory.<sup>93</sup> As to the latter, the position nowadays is that 'there are only the merest signs of the lines of walls above ground.'<sup>94</sup>

#### *Future Possibilities.*

Bearing in mind that the wall-painting at South Newington was first identified well within the living memory of many, and that the pilgrim badges were found less than 40 years ago, it is tempting to hope that perhaps in one of the churches on the earl's former 'vast estates' there may still be, in one of the various media, a beheading scene, at present regarded as the death of the Baptist, or some knightly figure now presumed to be St. Michael, or even just a 'mysterious saint', who may one day be found in fact to be another addition to the iconography of the cult of 'St.' Thomas of Lancaster.

#### *Acknowledgements.*

The present writer would like to thank Janet Backhouse, Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts at the British Library, not only for her unfailing helpfulness and general encouragement, but also for providing the starting point of this article by referring him to MS Douce 231. He is also indebted to the following for their patience in answering his queries regarding the matters referred to below, namely, to Dr. Audrey Baker, on painted panels; to Mrs. Sarah Brown (Crewe) of the National Buildings Record, for her authoritative advice on medieval stained glass; to Dr. Elizabeth Burin, Assistant Curator, Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, regarding MS. W. 105; to the Rev. Fr. J. Dickie, Archivist to the Westminster Diocese on the question of Lancaster's beatification; to Dr. Eileen Scarff, the Archivist, St. George's Chapel, as to the vestments; and to Richard Van Riel, the Curator of Pontefract Museum, who introduced him to Fox's *History of Pontefract* and to the activities of the Thoresby Society. While without the translation from the Latin kindly supplied by Barry Nicholas, sometime Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford, this paper would have lacked the poem which movingly describes the veneration in which the dead Lancaster was held.

93. G. Fox, *History of Pontefract* (Pontefract 1827) 124, 125, and plan of Pontefract opposite page 1.

94. C. V. B. [ellamy?] 'Pontefract Priory Excavations', *Publications of the Thoresby Society* xlix (1962-64) xiii.

## THE DATING OF YORK MINSTER CHOIR

by T. W. French

Some years ago I wrote an article supporting the traditional date of 1361-1373 for the construction of the lady chapel of York Minster (i.e. the four easternmost bays of the eastern arm).<sup>1</sup> In these notes I have set down my thoughts on the dating of the five western bays of the eastern arm (Fig. 1). Throughout this article these five bays are referred to as 'the choir', but it is important to remember that in the mediaeval documents 'the choir' was a general term for the whole of the eastern arm of the Minster. I have been unable to reconcile the traditional dating of the choir with the evidence, positive and negative, of the structure and the documents, and have therefore set out in the following paragraphs the published views on the dating, followed by the various items of evidence as I interpret them.

### 1. PUBLISHED DATING.

- a. The traditional dating is 1380-1400 with minor variations, and this can be found in most of the standard accounts of York Minster.<sup>2</sup>
- b. In most of his extensive writings on mediaeval architecture, J. H. Harvey supports a date of *c.* 1385-1400.<sup>3</sup> In one place, however, he seems to suggest a date of 1395 for the beginning of 'active prosecution of the work'.<sup>4</sup>
- c. The late Dr. E. A. Gee proposed 1375-1399 for the choir, and 'by 1405' for the two eastern transepts.<sup>5</sup>
- d. In my earlier article I had already rejected this traditional dating. I had put the commencement of the work at *c.* 1395 – much the same as Harvey's alternative version – and suggested that, although the work was begun then, much of it was done between 1405 and 1420. This dating seems to have been largely accepted in a recent scholarly guide-book to York,<sup>6</sup> and I have expressed the same views in a recent paper on the glazing of the St. William window in the north-eastern transept.<sup>7</sup> Further consideration of the evidence, however, has indicated that the years between about 1393 and 1413 would be the most likely period for the construction of the choir.

### 2. DATING EVIDENCE.

#### a. Documents.

There are several documentary references which need examination in this context:

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1. T. W. French, 'The Dating of the Lady Chapel in York Minster', *Antiquaries Journal* LII (1972), 309-319.
  2. E.g. Francis Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England* (1905), 136; F. Harrison, *Guide Book to York Minster*, 4th ed (York 1930), 17; Geoffrey Webb, *Architecture in Britain - The Middle Ages* (1956), 148; R. Cant in A. Stacpoole (ed), *The Noble City of York* (1972), 47.
  3. E.g. *Cathedrals of England and Wales* (1974), 179; *The Perpendicular Style 1330-1485* (1978), pl. 6.
  4. In G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (eds), *A History of York Minster* (1977), 165.
  5. *Friends of York Minster 48th Annual Report* (1977), 27.
  6. John Hutchinson & D. M. Palliser, *York* (Edinburgh 1980), 118 and 127.
  7. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* CXL (1987), 175-181.

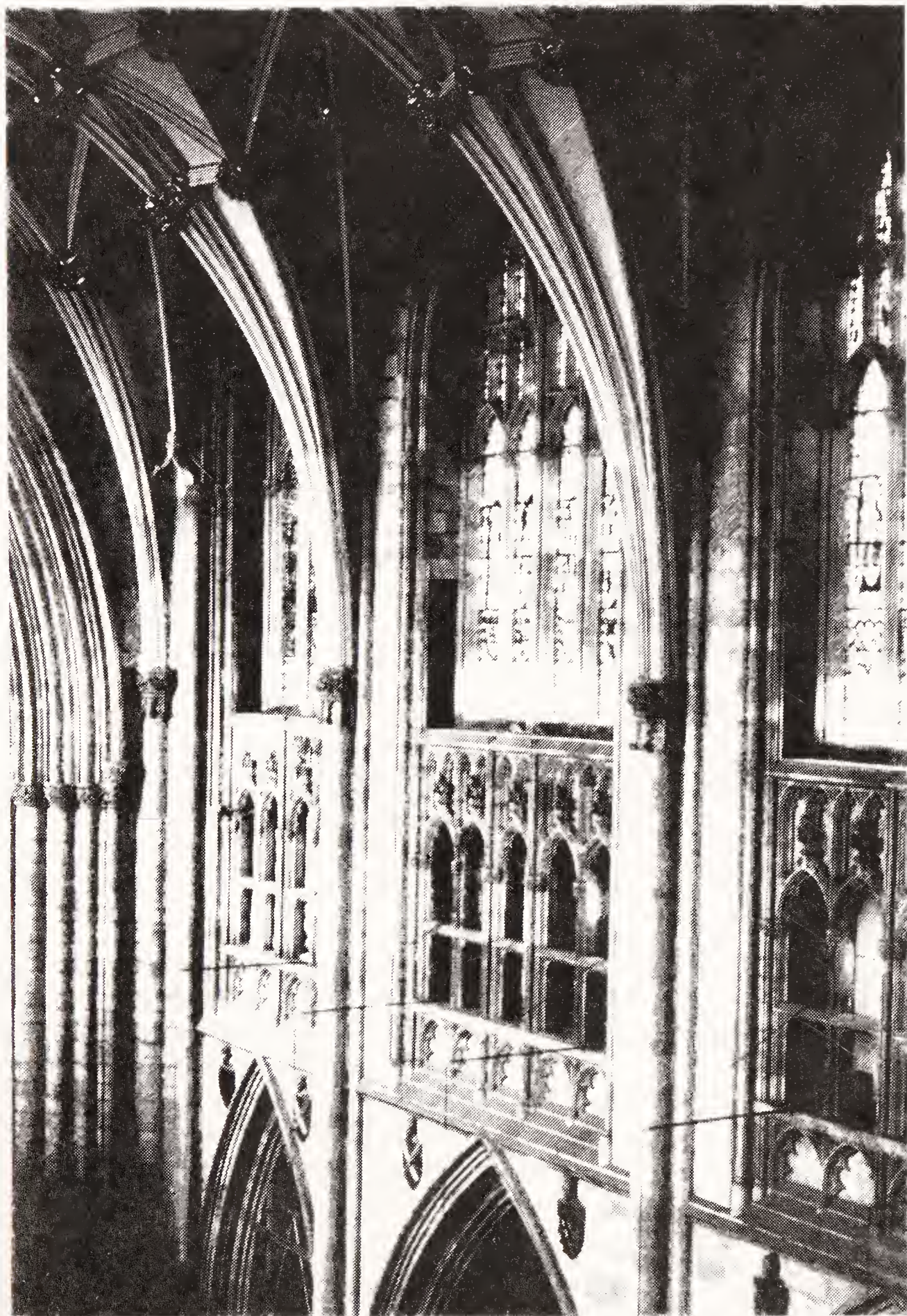


Fig. 1. York Minster: western bays of the choir, north side.

1. In July 1378 a licence was given to the Dean and Chapter for the appropriation of the church of Misterton (co. Notts) for ten years.<sup>8</sup> In this licence it was specified that the revenues were to be used 'for the fabrics and lights' of the church. In the papal confirmation of this licence, issued a year later by Urban VI, the revenues were to be applied to the 'fabric of the said [new] choir'.<sup>9</sup> At first reading this might suggest support for the traditional dating, but the papal document refers previously to this new choir as begun by archbishop

8. *Cal Patent Rolls 1377-1381*, 261.

9. John Browne, *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York I* (1847), 192-193.

Thoresby (i.e. the lady chapel, begun in 1361), and says 'so large a part of this choir, so begun to be built remaineth to be completed'. It is clear from this that the document regards the whole of the eastern arm as 'the choir', and the appropriation probably represents an attempt by the Dean and Chapter to start accumulating capital for the vast expenditure involved in future work. Although this licence has been regarded as an important factor, the additional income from the church was only in the region of £20 - £30 per year, which cannot have been a decisive factor in the planning of the new choir.

2. About 1385 a stone quarry was leased for eighty years.<sup>10</sup>
3. In 1388 the archbishop, Alexander Neville, gave some oaks for work at York Minster and at St. John's church, Beverley, a gift confirmed by the king after the archbishop's downfall.<sup>11</sup> This reference and the previous one probably mark the beginning of the accumulation of materials for the new choir. This interpretation, however, is complicated by the fact that the four tower crossing-arches were remodelled at the turn of the century – work which also would have needed quantities of stone for the new pier casings and oaks for the scaffolding. The necessity of integrating the eastern crossing-arch with the western end of the new choir indicates that plans for both must belong to the same period.
4. On 8th December 1394 services began to be held in the new vestry.<sup>12</sup> This appears to mark the abandonment of the western part of the Romanesque choir so that it could be demolished and work on the new choir commenced. The eastern part of the Romanesque choir must have been demolished many years earlier, probably up to and just east of the high altar, so that the new lady chapel could be completed. There was presumably a temporary wall at this point until the whole eastern arm was finished. Although the choir services were removed in 1394 to the new vestry, it is probable that the high altar was moved into the nave until the new choir was ready for its return.
5. In 1399 two men were paid for 'lying in the new works for the guardianship of the choir'.<sup>13</sup> This early example of security guards would make more sense in the early stages of the project when demolitions would have left it wide open to pilfering, than when the whole building was practically complete.
6. The same argument can be applied to the exemption from tolls on the river Aire for the carriage of stone to the Minster from a quarry at Stapleton. This was granted in July 1400 by Henry IV 'for the new works there until such time as the said works shall be accomplished and performed'.<sup>14</sup> Clearly, if the choir had been finished by 1400, the stone from the quarry would have long since been cut and transported to the Minster. This exemption must relate to work planned for 1401 and afterwards in a long-term programme of shipments.
7. In 1403 the cost of carrying a shipful of stone was bequeathed to the fabric.<sup>15</sup>

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10. Inferred from the renewal in 1465 of a lease held for the last eighty years (Browne I (1847), 248).

11. *Cal Close Rolls* 1385-89, 413.

12. James Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* II, *Rolls Series* (1886), 426.

13. Browne I (1847), 197-198.

14. Browne I (1847), 200.

15. Browne I (1847), 202.

This could have been for the choir or for the work on the crossing piers.

8. It might be thought that much light would be thrown on the choir construction from the fabric rolls, which record the income and expenditure over the centuries mainly on the fabric of the church. Unfortunately, for the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth century only eleven rolls survive, one of which – for *c.* 1400 – is too fragmentary to provide any reliable figures.<sup>16</sup> The others fall into three groups – the first of 1360 and 1371, the second of 1399, 1403 and 1404, and the third of 1415-16, 1418-19, 1419-20, 1421-22 and 1422-23. The first group is too early to relate to work on the choir, but the second group, if the choir had been finished by 1400, should be recording a tapering-off of expenditure. The yearly average, however, for these three rolls, of which the highest figure was for 1403, is £479. This is a sum not surpassed, apart from the third group, until 1693. The third group, on the same premise, should mainly be recording expenditure on the central tower, the vaulting of the aisles and the library.<sup>17</sup> Its figures divide into a high-spending period of 1415-1420, the three rolls having a yearly average of £548, and a lower-spending period for the last two rolls, averaging £396 per year. The inference could be drawn that the high-spending period, with its £548 average, – a figure not reached again until 1736 – saw the culmination of work on the choir, followed by the still considerable work on the tower, aisles and library. It is difficult to account for the heavy expenditure of 1415-1420 if the construction of the new choir had been finished by 1400. Too much reliance must not be placed on this argument, however, as the missing rolls of 1372-1398 and of 1405-1414 might well have contained figures leading to very different conclusions.

Further evidence, although of a negative character, is to be found in the recorded burials and bequests to the high altar. Burials of Minster clergy seem to have been concentrated in the western part of the south choir aisle until the second quarter of the fifteenth century. There were two burials in 1408 by the door of the vestry, whither services had been transferred in 1394, but the main series of burials in this area does not begin until about 1416. It may also be noted that before the two 1408 burials the eastern bays of the nave were chosen. Thus, John Clifford, the treasurer, who died in 1393, was buried at the east end of St. William's tomb, which was in the eastern bay of the nave, whilst a position two bays further west was the choice of Thomas Dalby (died 1400), probably the wealthiest cleric who ever held office in York Minster.<sup>18</sup> This choice of the nave by two of the Minster's wealthiest clergy,<sup>19</sup> and the lack of burials in the choir before 1416 suggest that in the early years of the fifteenth century the new choir was not yet available for burials. Bequests to the high altar are fairly common in the early fifteenth century, and the high altar is described in 1419 as 'lately newly-built'.<sup>20</sup> Its furnishings were not complete in 1418 when archdeacon Scrope willed various articles to the reredos of the high altar 'newly to be built'.<sup>21</sup> It seems unlikely, if the choir had been finished by 1400, that the

16. For the following figures I am indebted to Dr. R. M. Butler, who has kindly made available his transcripts and summaries from the original documents in the York Minster Library.

17. For the aisles see below p.133 and for the library p.133.

18. York Minster Library, Torre MS L I 7 - Clifford p.165, Dalby p.153.

19. The treasureship is described by Prof. Barrie Dobson as 'one of the wealthiest benefices in England', Aylmer and Cant (1977), 73.

20. YML, Torre MS L I 7, p.246. It is said to have existed by 1416 (Harvey (1978), 157).

21. Surtees Society IV (1836), 386.

Minster would have had to wait fifteen years and more before attention was given to the new high altar.

b. *Heraldry.*

This section concerns the large carved stone shields set in the spandrels of the main choir arcades, and which probably mark monetary contributions to the construction of the bays in which they are situated. Some of this heraldry is mythical, whilst other shields can be assigned to families but without any close date. Some conclusions can, however, be drawn from the following shields (identified in bays numbered from the east end of the lady chapel on the N[orth] and S[outh] sides, the two shields in each bay being lettered a and b).

- 5Sa 'Azure a bend or, a label of three points argent, a bordure semy of mitres or' for Archbishop Scrope (Fig. 2). He used this shield only as archbishop, and it must therefore have been placed in position after his appointment to the see in 1398, and would not have been put up after he was disgraced and beheaded in 1405.
- 6Sa 'Azure a bend or, a label of three points argent' for Scrope of Masham. In view of 7Nb below this probably represents Stephen the second baron, a close friend of Richard II, who died 1405/6.<sup>22</sup> He succeeded to the barony in 1392, and was the first of the Scropes of Masham to link his family closely with the Minster.<sup>23</sup>
- 6Sb 'Quarterly 1 & 4 or a lion azure (Percy), 2 & 3 gules three lucies argent (Lucy)'. Henry Lord Percy, 1st earl of Northumberland, married the heiress Maud Lucy in 1381, and the shield could be as early as this. He was the father of Henry Hotspur, killed in 1403, and he himself was disgraced and attainted in 1406. He died in 1407 and was succeeded by his fourteen year old grandson, who was not regranted the Percy estates until 1415. The shield should therefore date from between 1381 and 1406.<sup>24</sup>
- 7Sb 'Vert six lioncels or' for Ulph, the Saxon nobleman, with his horn at the side of the shield. The heraldry is mythical.<sup>25</sup> The Horn of Ulph was (and is) one of the Minster's treasures, and it is recorded that the treasurer John de Newton had it embellished with silver-gilt mounts and a strap.<sup>26</sup> Newton was treasurer from 1393 to 1414, and was probably responsible for raising funds for the new choir from the Minster's lands, for some of which the Horn was the title deed.<sup>27</sup> The carvings are probably a visual record of this, and could therefore date from any time during Newton's treasureship.<sup>28</sup>
- 9Sb This was painted as 'argent a cross gules' for St. George in 1933, although there is no record of the original tinctures. It is possible that these may originally have been 'or a cross gules', the arms of de Burgh, earls of Ulster, who in the late

22. J. H. Harvey, 'The Wilton Diptych - a Re-examination', *Archaeologia*, XCVIII (1961), 16.

23. T. W. French, 'The Tomb of Archbishop Scrope in York Minster', *Yorkshire Archaeological Society* 61 (1989), 95.

24. The earliest use of this quartering which I can trace is in Willement's Roll of 1392-1397 (C.E. Wright, *English Heraldic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1973), pl. II).

25. French (1972), 311-312.

26. James Raine, 'Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops' III, Rolls Series (1894), 386.

27. T. D. Kendrick, 'The Horn of Ulph', *Antiquity* (September 1937), 278-282.

28. This carving of the horn is illustrated in French (1972), pl. LVIIIb.



Fig. 2. York Minster choir: shield of arms of Archbishop Scrope.

fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were represented by the Mortimers.<sup>29</sup> The Mortimer shield appears in 8Sa, and these two shields could indicate that the two western bays on the south side were funded by the Mortimers, who marked this by using their two shields, one in each bay, sandwiching the mythical shields of two favourite York and Plantagenet saints – St. Edward the Confessor and, probably, St. Edmund. The Mortimer connection may relate to Roger Mortimer who is said to have been made heir-apparent by the childless Richard II in 1385, only to be killed in Ireland in 1398.

29. The de Burgh arms, referring to an earlier earl, appear in stained glass in the nave clerestorey (Nxx, 2a).

- 7Nb 'Azure on a bend or the umbra of a lion' for Scrope (Fig. 3)<sup>30</sup> This does not represent the senior line of Scrope of Bolton, as has been stated,<sup>31</sup> but the cadet branch Scrope of Masham. It was a very short-lived variant of their usual heraldry, as found in 6Sa, and was used only by Henry Lord Scrope, the third baron, and then only between 1411 and his execution in 1415.<sup>32</sup>
- 8Nb 'Gules a saltire argent charged with a crescent for difference' These arms were borne by Alexander Neville, archbishop of York 1374-1388, died 1392, and this would fit the traditional dating very well. But the head above the shield shows



Fig. 3. York Minster choir: shield of arms of Henry, Baron Scrope of Masham.

30. The lion is now unheraldically painted a light grey colour.

31. D. J. Hawke, *The Mediaeval Heraldry of York Minster* (Wakefield 1971), 35.

32. H. Stanford London, 'The Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry', *Archaeologia* XCIII (1949), 141-144.

clearly that this does not represent the archbishop (Fig. 4), and as nobody else would have borne the same difference mark on the saltire during the archbishop's lifetime, the shield must belong to a later member of the Neville family, and date from after 1392.

These shields give a dating bracket of 1381-1415, and all but the Mortimer and Henry Scrope shields would fit comfortably into the period 1398-1405. The Mortimer arms could represent a donation from Roger Mortimer just before his death in 1398. His successor, Edmund Mortimer, because of his father's links with Richard II, was kept in custody until the death of Henry IV in 1413. He was restored to favour by Henry V, but the ascription of the shield to him would necessitate a date of *c.*1415, which is probably too late to be acceptable. The shield of Henry Lord Scrope of Masham in 7Nb cannot be so easily explained. The armorial used there only came into existence in 1411, and the inference must be that this bay of the choir was still being built at that date. As an integral part of the construction these shields must form part of the dating criteria for the whole work. It could be argued that the shields were originally set in position as blanks, and were carved later on when the choir was otherwise finished. This would then also have to apply to the heads above the shields.<sup>33</sup> Although this procedure was very occasionally followed with individual roof bosses, it is very unlikely here with such an extensive amount of carving to be done. It has been



Fig. 4. York Minster choir: head above shield of arms of Neville.

33. The shields and heads would merit a close study. At least two carvers were involved, the one working on the south side being markedly inferior in ability to the one responsible for those on the north side.

suggested that the building work started at the west end against the tower-arch, and proceeded eastwards.<sup>34</sup> The heraldry, however, points to the opposite conclusion. On the north side, the easternmost bay of the choir contains one shield with the Passion emblems and another with the mythical arms of St. Wilfrid, whilst the next bay to the west has the attributed shields of St. Peter and St. Paul. These two bays, therefore, with their religious connotations, probably represent the Minster's own contribution to the building, and are balanced on the south side by the arms of the leading figures of the period: in the eastern bay, Richard Scrope, archbishop of York and Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham 1388-1406; in the adjoining bay, Scrope of Masham and Percy – two northern families who were among the principal benefactors to York Minster. The inference must be that these two bays each side were the first to be built, as was the case in the lady chapel, where the heraldic importance of the shields diminishes from east to west.

*c. History.*

In connection with the heraldry the importance of Richard II's attachment to York and its Minster needs emphasising. J. H. Harvey has identified Richard II's badge of the chained hart on the south choir aisle side of the south-east crossing-pier (Fig. 5) and has dated it to *c.* 1395.<sup>35</sup> Its significance in this position is precisely that it is not in the main choir. This emphasises the fact that there is no carved shield of the royal



Fig. 5. York Minster: chained hart badge of Richard II on south-east crossing pier.

34. Hawke (1971), 31.

35. 'The Reign of Richard II' in F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (eds), *Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (1971), 207 and pl. 2b. A white hart was presented to Richard II in 1393 by Stephen Scrope (heraldry 6Sa above; see Harvey (1961), 16).

arms amongst the choir shields. In view of Richard II's devotion to York Minster, it is extremely unlikely that, if he had been alive and the choir had been well on its way to completion, his visits and generous gifts, especially in 1395 and 1396, would have not have been reciprocated by the insertion of a royal arms somewhere in the choir, nor would the chained hart have been tucked away in the slightly earlier work of the south choir aisle. Its position here relates it to processions through the archway for the services in the new vestry, and suggests that this was the most important place in the new work at the Minster available at that date for a royal badge.

The various specific points made above may perhaps be related to the general historical probabilities in the Minster at this period. From 1374 to 1388 the archbishop was Alexander Neville. History has not given him a good report,<sup>36</sup> and there is little evidence, apart from the appropriation of Misterton church in 1378 and the gift of oaks in his last months of office, that he took any great interest in improvements at the Minster. Furthermore, from 1366 until 1385 the deanery – the richest and most influential office at the Minster – was occupied successively by two papal appointees who seem to have left little mark on the York scene, if indeed they ever set foot in York at all. A priori then, there was little enthusiasm at the top, where it mattered most, for further construction on a large and expensive scale between the death of archbishop Thoresby in 1373 and the removal of Neville in 1388. Neville was succeeded by Thomas Arundel, a far more vigorous archbishop, who remained at the see until 1396. There is evidence to suggest that his energies were partly directed towards the completion of the decoration and glazing of the lady chapel and he is a much more likely figure to be given the credit for starting the work on the choir. There was also a strong and influential dean from 1385 to 1395 in the person of Edmund Stafford.

The Zouche chapel, off the south choir aisle, is important for the understanding of this building campaign. Its identification as the chantry chapel built for archbishop Zouche *c.* 1350 has recently been questioned, and a late fourteenth-century date for it has been suggested.<sup>37</sup> However, it has usually been accepted as the chapel started by the archbishop *c.* 1350, although its completion took place much later.<sup>38</sup> It seems very probable that it is also the 'new vestry' brought into use for services in December 1394, and that sometime between 1350 and *c.* 1390 the intended function of this building was changed from a chantry chapel to a vestry. This may have been due to the change in the plan for rebuilding the eastern arm of the Minster when archbishop Thoresby pushed to the top of the priorities his proposal for a new lady chapel. The precise date for its construction then becomes less crucial, except for the completion date of *c.* 1390. In support of its identification as the new vestry, the Zouche chapel is the only area attached to the Minster, suitable in size, proportion and orientation, to which the choir services could have been transferred in 1394. Neither the old Treasury and Consistory Court – the two rooms to the west of the Zouche chapel – nor any areas on the north side of the Minster would have been suitable for such a purpose. In addition it is worth noting that the wooden doors both at its entrance from the south choir aisle and of the cupboards inside the chapel have recently been dated by dendrochronology to the period 1395-1410.<sup>39</sup>

36. For a recent balanced account of Neville's career see Richard G. Davies, 'Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York 1374-1388', *YAJ* 47 (1975), 87-101.

37. See Penelope Eames, *Furniture in England* (1977), 247-249, and Hutchinson & Palliser (1980), 126-127.

38. John H. Harvey in Aylmer and Cant (1977), 160.

39. J. M. Fletcher and R. A. Morgan, 'The Dating of Doors and Cupboards in the Zouche Chapel, York Minster', *YAJ* 53 (1981), 45-49.

## 3. CONCLUSIONS.

All these various strands of evidence and inference lead to the conclusion that the new choir was not started, however early it was planned and designed, until about 1393. This conclusion is supported by J. H. Harvey's interpretation of the data. He has pointed out that the builder of the choir was Hugh de Hedon, who took up the freedom of the City in 1394, was master mason at the latest by 1399 until his dismissal in 1407, and who 'accepted the earlier design for the aisles'.<sup>40</sup> Although Hedon was superceded by William Colchester in 1407, his design for the choir, already half-built, would have been continued, especially as Colchester was at first concerned with stabilising and rebuilding the collapsed central tower. The aisles, with the three projecting rooms on the south side, would have been built first, joining up with the already-existing aisles of the lady chapel; temporary roofing must have been provided for their use in 1394/5.<sup>41</sup> This will also explain why the westernmost south aisle window (sVIII) was glazed until 1953 with the mid fourteenth-century glass now in nV. This glass, removed from an unknown site in the Minster, was no doubt reused here in the 1390s as an economical stop-gap to enable the aisle to be brought into use.<sup>42</sup> Building must then have continued until early in the second decade of the fifteenth century, and the lack of a royal arms for Richard II in the main choir suggests that by the time of his downfall in 1399 work was still short of triforium level. The same timetable is indicated by the shield of archbishop Scrope which cannot have been placed in position before the summer of 1398 at the earliest. The completion of the choir by about 1413 would suit the evidence of the stained glass in the clerestorey of the four western bays and in the St. William window in the north choir aisle. Internal evidence dates the former to the period 1408-1414, and 1414 is the date I have recently proposed for the glazing in the St. William window.<sup>43</sup> It would also explain why the treasurer John de Newton felt able in 1414 to bequeath his collection of books to form a library at the Minster. It proved possible to start work on the new building to house them straight away, and the work was finished by 1420.<sup>44</sup>

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40. In Aylmer and Cant (1977), 167.

41. The stone and brick vaulting is dated to between 1420 and 1425 by a boss with the arms of William Gray, dean during that period. It is illustrated in Aylmer and Cant (1977), pl. 66.

42. The late Dean Milner-White noted that the glass had crude late fourteenth-century borders, which he discarded (Friends of York Minster 25th Annual Report (1953), 26 and 27).

43. French (1987), 175-181.

44. C. B. L. Barr, 'The Minster Library' in Aylmer and Cant (1977), 494-495.



## WILD MEN IN THE MISERICORDS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, BEVERLEY

by Bruce Moore

Beverley in Yorkshire is fortunate to have two fine sets of medieval misericords: the Minster has sixty-three (dating from 1520) and the church of St. Mary has twenty-three (dating from c. 1445). The misericords of the Minster have received a fair amount of attention, most notably by T. Tindall Wildridge.<sup>1</sup> The misericords of St. Mary's have received relatively less attention. This is unfortunate, since three of them provide some interesting evidence for the development of the 'wild-man' or 'wodewose' motif in English art and literature. These three are described by G. L. Remnant thus:

*North side from west ... 5. Two wodehouses with clubs; on either side a dragon. Supporters: Left and Right, leaf with dragon in centre...*

*South side from west ... 10. Wodehouse between two lions; dragons under his feet. Supporters: Left and Right, leaf...13. Fox transfixed by a large arrow is proffering a bag to a monkey that is pouring liquid on the fox's head. At the side of the fox stands a wodewose with a bow in his hand. Supporters: Left and Right, foliate face.<sup>2</sup>*

The first two of these misericords have been described and interpreted in somewhat confusing ways. Remnant claims that in the misericord with the wild-man between two lions there are 'dragons' below his feet; these creatures, however, are clearly wyverns. In his *Guide to Church Woodcarvings* J. C. D. Smith provides a good reproduction of this misericord, and comments: 'This misericord shows a wodewose, or wild man of the woods, between two lions. Below are two wyverns. All these creatures were symbols of evil, although the lion could also be a symbol of good'.<sup>3</sup> A very different reading is offered by Francis Bond: 'a wodewose with a club tramples on the heads of two writhing wyverns, symbolising the triumph of Christ over the devil; the wodewose is flanked by two lions – in this case taking the side of righteousness – who pat him on the back'.<sup>4</sup>

It is true that the lion has varying iconographical significance. The *Physiologus* tradition provides three legends:<sup>5</sup> the lion covers his tracks with his tail to prevent pursuit by hunters, and this symbolizes Christ who concealed his divinity when he became man; the lion sleeps with his eyes open, and this is a symbol of vigilance, and

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1. T. Tindall Wildridge, *The Misereres of Beverley Minster* (Hull, 1879). See also Christa Grössinger, 'The Misericords in Beverley Minster: their relationship to other Misericords and Fifteenth-Century Prints', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. Christopher Wilson, British Archaeological Association (London, 1989), 186-194.
  2. G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1969), 177-78. Subsequently cited as Remnant 1969. I am grateful to the Vicar and Churchwardens of St. Mary's Church, Beverley, for permission to reproduce the photographs of the misericords.
  3. J. C. D. Smith, *A Guide to Church Woodcarvings: Misericords and Bench-ends* (Newton Abbot, 1974), 94.
  4. Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches. 1. – Misericords* (London, 1910), 62-63. Subsequently cited as Bond 1910.
  5. Summarized, including quotation, from Bond 1910, 22-6.

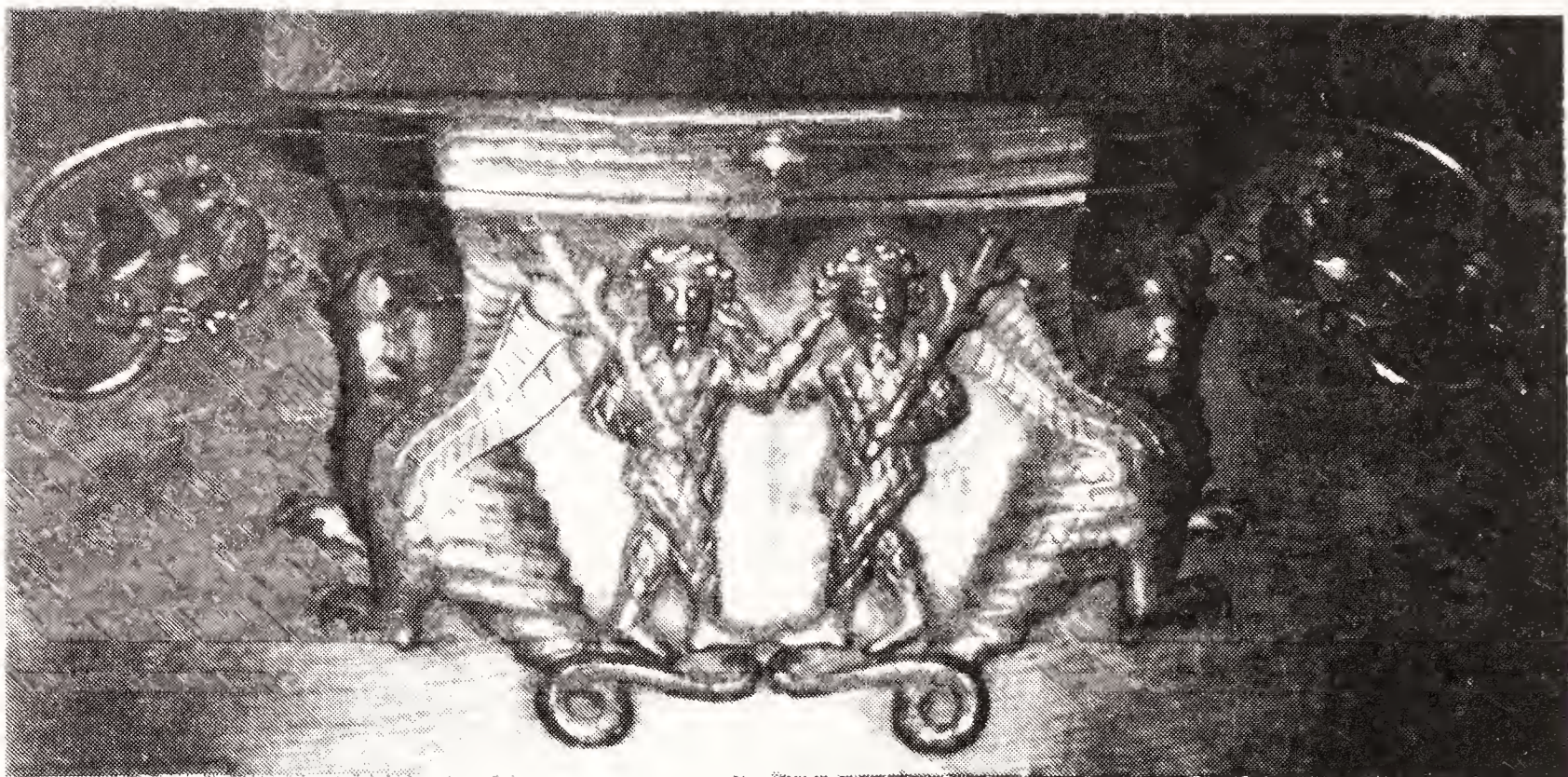


Fig. 1. St. Mary's Church, Beverley: misericord with wildmen between wyverns.

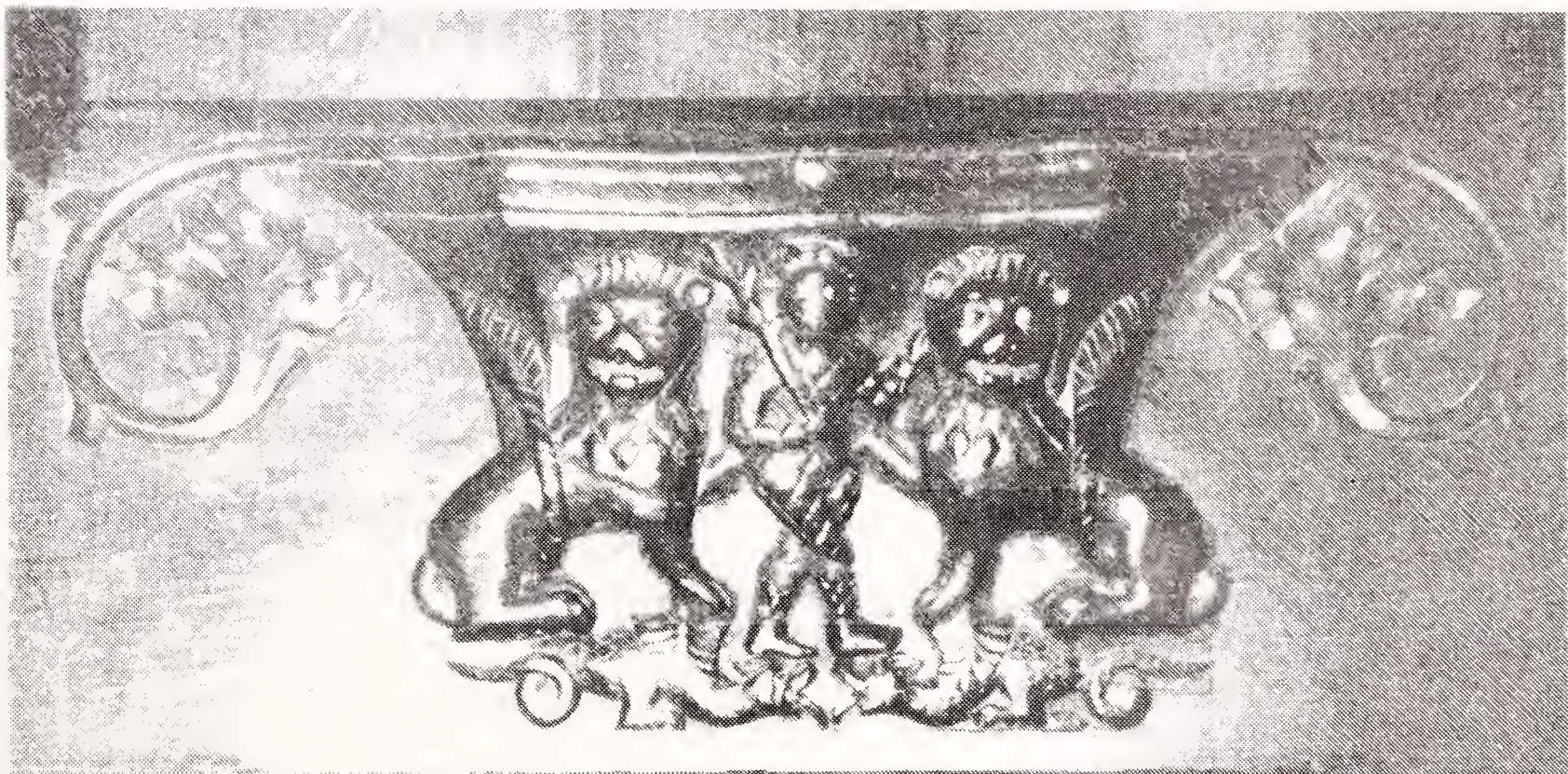


Fig. 2. Misericord with wildman between lions, wyverns below their feet.

also of Christ ('Our Lord slept with his body in the grave, but His spirit was awake at the right hand of God'); the cubs of the lioness are born dead, but after three days the lion roars or breathes over them and brings them to life, thus symbolizing the Resurrection. The lion is also the symbol of St. Mark. When the lion is depicted fighting such monsters as dragons, it can be assumed that it represents good. Yet the lion can also represent evil. Bond explains: 'Unfortunately he also symbolises the Devil, who "goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour."' Moreover Daniel was thrown into a lions' den; and both Samson and David won renown for throttling lions. And it was written of the good man, "Because thou hast made the Most High thy habitation, thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet".<sup>6</sup> The wild-man carries with him a comparable variety

6. Bond 1910, 26.

of iconographical significance. As will be documented below, in English art from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries he may be depicted as a grotesque, and therefore potentially if not actually evil. Yet the artists of this time also had available to them a very different tradition, one in which the wild-man symbolizes positive forces.

This second tradition is perhaps most evident in a group of fifteenth-century East Anglian fonts. Bond describes them thus: 'The essentials of the design are the arrangement on the panels of the bowl of shields, Tudor roses, the symbols of the Evangelists or demi-angels: while round the pedestal stand (not in niches) lions, "woodhouses," angels, kings, queens or saints'.<sup>7</sup> In such exalted company there is little chance that these wild-men belong to the grotesque tradition. On a large number of these fonts alternating wild men and lions surround the pedestal. Druce notes that such fonts are found at Framlingham (Suffolk), Wymondham (Norfolk), Saxmundham (Suffolk), and Halesworth (Suffolk).<sup>8</sup> Cox and Harvey point to examples in Suffolk (Chediston, Middleton, Theberton, and Wissett) and in Norfolk (Happisburgh and Ludham).<sup>9</sup> A similar positive association of wild-man and lion occurs in the second of the St. Mary's misericords noted above. On the fonts the figures have become so formalized and statuesque that the significance of their association is taken for granted (even if that significance is lost to a modern viewer). The major clue to the significance, as will be explained below, may well be the St. Mary's misericord.

The history of the wild man has been carefully documented by Bernheimer,<sup>10</sup> and more recently by White.<sup>11</sup> In the medieval period the wild-man is a paradoxical figure: on the one hand, he is a grotesque symbol of all those energies which are regarded as antithetical to human society, a symbol of humanity reduced to the less than human; on the other hand, he is already on his way to becoming a symbol of energies which a civilized society feels that it has lost, and as such he evidences an attitude towards the wild-man which emerges fully fledged both in Spenser's 'saluage wight, of brutish kynd' who nevertheless embodies 'milde humanity, and perfect gentle mynd',<sup>12</sup> and in the Noble Savage of the seventeenth and eighteenth century imagination. The tradition of the wild-man as grotesque is typical of the way societies define their values by a process of negation. In this tradition the wild-man defines what civilized human beings and their society are not, for the wild-man is devoid of the traditional securities of Christian society: 'the securities of *sex* (as organized by the institution of the family), *sustenance* (as provided by the political, social, and economic institutions), and *salvation* (as provided by the Church). The Wild Man enjoys none of the advantages of civilized sex, regularized social existence, or institutionalized grace'.<sup>13</sup> It is this kind of grotesque figure, a creature outside the ordered and sustaining bonds of society, that is referred to in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* when Gawain is travelling through the hostile environment of the world outside Camelot, and he struggles with 'wormes', 'wolues' and 'wodwos'.<sup>14</sup> The association of the 'wodwos' here with creatures which

7. Francis Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (1908; reprinted London, 1985), 255.

8. G. C. Druce, 'The Stall Carvings in the Church of St. Mary of Charity, Faversham', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 51 (1939), 23; he also suggests that the example at Staple (Kent) is an import from Suffolk.

9. J. Charles Cox and Alfred Harvey, *English Church Furniture* (London, 1907), 219.

10. Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952). Subsequently cited as Bernheimer 1952.

11. Hayden White, 'The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea', in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh, 1972), 3-38. Subsequently cited as White 1972.

12. *The Faerie Queene*, VI, v, 29, in *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1912).

13. See White 1972, 21.

14. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, 2nd edn, revised by N. Davis (Oxford, 1967), lines 720-21.

attack and destroy civilization establishes the place of these wildmen in the grotesque tradition. As early as the twelfth century, however, there are the beginnings of another tradition in which the wild-man appears as a creature who cares for animals, has an intimate knowledge of the natural world, and shares some of his knowledge of the secrets of nature with man. In contrast with the problems of human society, the wild-man's existence in this tradition is seen as innocent and idyllic, a state of freedom, and a symbol of those qualities which human society has lost.<sup>15</sup> In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* it is the Green Knight who bears some resemblance to this positive figure.

The changing attitude is perhaps reflected in the appearance of the wild-man in theatrical contexts. On the Continent as early as the thirteenth century there are references to Wild Man plays,<sup>16</sup> and in England in the fifteenth century the wildman becomes closely associated with civic shows and processions.<sup>17</sup> In England in the fourteenth century the wild-man also appears in a theatrical context – in the court masque. In the Wardrobe Accounts for 1348 there is a reference to a Christmas disguising which required costumes for wild-men. Among the 65 'viseres' required for the 'ludos Regis' are 'xij capita de wodewose'.<sup>18</sup> There are two other references to wild-men in the Wardrobe Accounts from this period. In 1348 Edward III was provided with two harnesses (i.e. armour for both man and horse) which included decoration of white velvet with blue garters, and which was diapered throughout with 'wodewoses'.<sup>19</sup> In 1352 Edward was provided with a crest of red velvet which was embroidered with wild-men and branches in silk and pearls, and which was topped by a gold leopard.<sup>20</sup> It seems likely that these items were for use in tournaments,<sup>21</sup> but it needs to be emphasized that the costume of the period was in general becoming more and more theatrical. The three references to wild-men suggest that Edward may have been using them as an emblematic motif at this time, thus pointing to the increasing popularity of the figure.

In the fourteenth century the wild-man could still provoke either of the diametrically opposite responses noted above. Bernheimer points to two love caskets from the lower Rhine region, both dating from the second half of the fourteenth century, which reflect the duality of attitude.<sup>22</sup> One of the caskets depicts the abduction of a maiden by a wild-man, who in turn is defeated by a knight who wins the lady because of his heroic and chivalric efforts. The wild-man represents unruly passion, devoid of the proper restraints of society, while the knight represents passion controlled and ordered by means of the civilizing institution of chivalry. The second casket, however, shows the wild-man defeated not by the knight, but by the civilizing and controlling influence of the lady. This is still a sexual allegory, but one which admits that there is something attractive about the natural energies of the wild-man, and which shows how such

15. White 1972, 22.

16. See Bernheimer 1952, 51-56.

17. See Robert Withington, *English Pageantry: An Historical Outline*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1918-20), vol. 1, 72-77.

18. Nicholas H. Nicolas, 'Observations on the Institution of the Most Noble Order of the Garter', *Archaeologia* 31 (1846), 43. Subsequently cited as Nicolas 1846.

19. Nicolas 1846, 41.

20. Kay Staniland, 'Medieval Courtly Splendour', *Costume* 14 (1980), 20.

21. The Wardrobe Accounts often do not make the purpose of the items clear. While the materials required for the two harnesses include leather, another harness provided in 1348, and decorated with Edward's current motto 'Hay hay the Wythe swan by godes soule I am thy man', was made of 'bokeram' (i.e. fine linen) and 'carde'. It appears in the Accounts between costumes for the Christmas play at Otford and for the Epiphany play at Merton, suggesting that it was perhaps also a costume for use in the disguisings.

22. Bernheimer 1952, 123-25, and Plates 31 and 32.

energies may be channelled into socially acceptable forms. A similar duality may be illustrated by two literary examples. The wild-man appears as the grotesque figure in the illustrations to one of the French versions of the *Romance of Alexander*, where he is described: 'Coment Alixandres trouva un home sauvage et le fist ardoir pour ce que il navoit point dentendement mais estoit ansi comme une beste'.<sup>23</sup> The illustration shows the wild-man as naked and hairy, and he is bound to a stake and about to be burned because he is a man devoid of human understanding, a beast. At about the same time (c.1300), however, a very different account of the wild-man appears in a French bestiary.<sup>24</sup> It describes a tribe of savage people who live in the trees in order to protect themselves from wild animals: 'The savage man is quite naked, unless he has at some time or other fought with a lion and killed it, and has clothed himself with the skin of the lion'. In the allegorical exposition which follows this description, the wild-man stands for the soul in opposition to the body:

As to the savage man fighting with the lion and killing it, and clothing himself with the skin of the lion, this signifies that the soul fights so hard against its body that it conquers it, and that it kills its body and destroys all the delights that it is wont to love in the world. So the soul escapes from the hands of its enemy by the grace that God has given it, just as the savage man conquers the lion by grace, and by his courage, and by the endurance with which God has endowed him.

It is this allegory which provides the clue to the association of wild-men and lions in English medieval art, especially on misericords, wherein the wild-man slays the lion. The misericord at St. Mary's which includes the wild-man and the lions, however, does not depict the wild-man killing the lions, or even controlling them by force. Instead (as explained in more detail below) it depicts them as being in harmony.

Both aspects of this dual tradition of the wild-man (the grotesque and the positive) are reflected in English art from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. In *Queen Mary's Psalter* from the beginning of the fourteenth century the wild-man is depicted as a grotesque figure who is attacked by three dogs.<sup>25</sup> Among the fifteenth-century misericords of Norwich Cathedral (Norfolk) there is one which depicts two wild-men fighting with clubs. The late fifteenth-century misericords of St. George's Chapel, Windsor (Berkshire) include one which depicts a male wild-man astride a unicorn tilting at a female 'wodwose' astride another animal. A similar comically grotesque depiction occurs in an early sixteenth-century misericord from Manchester Cathedral (Lancashire) where there is a fight between two wild-men, one mounted on a camel, the other on a unicorn.

In other works, however, there is evidence of the wild-man's transformation into a positive figure.<sup>26</sup> These positive aspects of the wild-man are depicted on many misericords. A late fourteenth-century misericord at St. Botolph's Church, Boston (Lincolnshire) shows an owl (a bird almost invariably symbolizing foolishness or evil)<sup>27</sup> with a captured mouse in its claws. Its face is directed towards the right supporter, which depicts a wild-man who sprawls in the branches of a tree, his left leg up in the

23. G. C. Druce, 'Some Abnormal and Composite Human Forms in English Church Architecture', *Archaeol J* 72 (1915), 135-86. The quotation is from 164-65. Subsequently cited as Druce 1915.

24. The reference, and the following quotations, are from Druce 1915, 160-61.

25. The illustration is reproduced in Bernheimer 1952, Plate 5.

26. Druce 1915, 165, comments: 'He becomes conventionalised, we may say almost standardised in appearance, and blossoms out into great prominence under his English name of "wodewose". Instead of being naked or covered with rough hair, he appears as if clothed in tightly-fitting sheep-skins, and generally bears a knotted branch or club'.

27. M. D. Anderson, *The Medieval Carver* (Cambridge, 1935), 135, notes: 'Far from preserving its classical status as the bird of wisdom, the owl was regarded as the symbol of perverse foolishness. Since it preferred to move by night and cannot see by day, it represented the Jews wilfully preferring darkness'.

air, his back turned to the owl, but his face turned towards it, as if watching warily. He carries a branch-like cudgel which is directed at the owl. There is a bird in the branches, also looking at the owl. At St. George's Chapel, Windsor (Berkshire) a late fifteenth-century misericord is described by Remnant in these terms: 'Fox in gown and hood (in which is a goose) stands in pulpit holding a goose by the neck and preaches to two other geese. An ape in a bush aims at him with a crossbow. Supporters: Left, man-monster and dragon. Right, wodehouse with spear pointed at the ape'.<sup>28</sup> One might add that the goose in the fox's hood is craning its head backwards to look at two dead geese concealed behind the fox's pulpit. One might add, too, that the 'wodehouse' or wild-man in the dexter supporter is unusual enough to be quite remarkable. There is in his depiction a blurring together of two quite antithetical elements – of 'wildness', on the one hand, and of 'civilizedness', on the other. He is naked (from the waist downwards) and his feet are bare, as befits a wild-man, but his legs and feet are hairless: the long and shaggy animal-hair which usually characterises the wild-man is absent from his lower limbs. The shaggy hair seems to be present, however, in the upper half of his body which, uncharacteristically, is clad in a waist-length doublet (possibly of cuir-bouilli) which seems to serve as armour: from beneath this doublet flows a profusion of appropriately shaggy and animal-like hair, but this hair performs the civilized function of concealing the wild-man's buttocks and genitals and, what is more, for all its 'wildness' it is carved to suggest a very short kilt. Above the neck of the doublet the shaggy fur is again to be seen, blending into the wild-man beard and the long mane of hair on the head; but on that head is a helmet-like hat, possibly once again of cuir-bouilli. Finally, instead of a conventional cudgel or club, the wild-man wields a spear which is aimed at the ape who is aiming his crossbow at the friarish fox. The fox is traditionally the symbol of deceit, and the ape likewise is a symbol of deceit. While there is, typically, satire directed at the clergy in scenes of this kind, the satire depends on the recognition that these creatures, ape and fox, are negative in their own right. It is the wild-man who is ready to put an end to the chain of deceit. And it is precisely this role which the wild-man performs in the third of the St. Mary's misericords (Fig. 3). The fox has been transfixated through the chest by a large arrow shot by the wild-man. The fox offers a bag of money to a monkey seated cross-legged on a high stool. The monkey is gorged and chained, and he is offering the fox a bottle of medicine in exchange. The satire here is no doubt directed primarily at the medical profession, but it is clear that the wild-man is the figure who dispenses justice.

A more ambivalent misericord occurs at Chester, where the main scene depicts a wild-man sitting on a prostrate man in a forest. This perhaps suggests the grotesque tradition, a suggestion enforced by the left supporter, which depicts a wild-man in aggressive mood, stepping forward and beating his chest. The right supporter, however, depicts a wild-man in relaxed mood, sitting with legs crossed in a suggestively civilized posture. The mood of this right supporter is echoed in a late fifteenth-century misericord from the Minster, Ripon (Yorkshire) where a wild-man, standing in an oak grove, is wearing a chaplet of oak leaves and acorns, and wielding a huge club.<sup>29</sup> At St. Mary's Church, Whalley (Lancashire)<sup>30</sup> there is a similar depiction of the wild-man. Remnant calls the figure a satyr, and describes the misericord thus: 'Satyr and woman, inscribed *Penses molt et p[ar]les pou*, "think much and speak little"'.<sup>31</sup> This is echoed in

28. Remnant 1969, 6.

29. Remnant 1969, 182, suggests that this may be a representation of Orson, but there is nothing to make such an attribution certain.

30. Remnant 1969, 83, points to the tradition that these misericords came from Whalley Abbey, but he also reminds us of the uncertainty of this origin.

31. Remnant 1969, 83.



Fig. 3. Misericord with wildman, fox and monkey.



Fig. 4. Misericord with archers in wood.

the local guide book: 'Satyr weeping before a pert-looking damsel who is laughing at him. Inscription in Norman-French (translated): "Think much, speak little" '.<sup>32</sup> But the figure is clearly a wild-man, a fact reinforced by the left and right supporters which depict heads of wild-men. Apart from the unusual scroll, the most interesting feature of this misericord is the remarkably relaxed posture of the wild-man. He is lying on the ground, and although he holds his traditional cudgel in his left hand, the cudgel is held in a thoroughly relaxed fashion over his back. The relaxed and comfortable posture is clearly indicated too by the right arm propped on the elbow and the chin resting in the right hand, as well by the left leg lifted easily up from the knee. He seems to be watching the woman pensively, and is thoroughly at his ease before her. There is no evidence that the woman is 'laughing' or that the wild-man is 'weeping'. Instead, this is the philosophical wild-man, and the didactic lesson on the scroll is something to be

32. *The Parish Church of Saint Mary All Saints Whalley, Lancashire, England*, ed. H.C. Snape, 6th ed. (1978), 14.

learned from him. In one of the St. Mary's misericords under examination, two wild-men with clubs are facing each other, but their heads are turned towards us, the viewers, as if we had surprised them in the act of touching each other's hair in what appears to be a caress; at least the gestures are friendly. There is nothing bellicose at all in their attitudes or facial expressions; their faces, in fact, are remarkably gentle. Behind each wild-man is a wyvern, facing outwards as if fleeing in fear from the amiable caresses of these wild-men. This misericord may therefore be interpreted as depicting a scene of natural harmony and friendliness – in response to which the creatures of evil flee.

One significant stage in the transformation of the wild-man occurs when he is shown to be fighting some monstrous creature, an icon of evil. A fourteenth-century misericord at Lincoln Minster shows a wild-man fighting a griffin. Similarly, at Lincoln, the poppy-head to one of the desk-ends on the south side of the choir shows a wild-man fighting dragons and griffins. At St. Mary of Charity Church, Faversham (Kent) an early fifteenth-century misericord depicts a wild-man spearing a griffin. In an early fifteenth-century misericord at Carlisle Cathedral (Cumberland) the wild-man is fighting a dragon, forcing open its jaws. At Manchester Cathedral (Lancashire) an early sixteenth-century misericord depicts a wild-man fighting a dragon. At Beverley Minster an early sixteenth-century misericord similarly depicts a wild-man fighting a dragon.

Very often the creature the wild-man is fighting is a lion. Among the early fourteenth-century misericords of Hereford Cathedral (Herefordshire) one depicts a wild-man fighting a lion, and this motif occurs in a late fourteenth-century misericord at Lincoln Minster. Among the quatrefoil panels on the desk-fronts of the south side of the Lincoln choir two wild-men attack a lion. A late fourteenth-century misericord at St. Botolph's Church, Boston (Lincolnshire) depicts a wildman who seizes a lion by the mane with his left hand and with his right hand prepares to deal it a crushing blow with an enormous cudgel. The lion meantime is raking the wild-man's genital area with its claws. The supporters depict wild-man and lion before the fight. At Yaxley Church (Suffolk) on the left spandrel of the main entrance-arch a man dressed in a pleated tunic and carrying what seems to be a paddle is subduing a dragon-like creature; on the right spandrel a wild-man is fighting a lion with his club. Civilized man and wild-man balance each other in an artistic harmony: they are brothers-in-arms, brothers beneath their divergent 'skins'. So too in that artistic harmony are the dragon and the lion twinned.

A stage beyond this is when the wild-man is shown to be controlling the lion in lieu of killing it. At Chester Cathedral two late fourteenth-century misericords depict a wild-man riding a lion and controlling it with a chain around its neck. At Holy Trinity Church, Coventry (Warwickshire) a fifteenth-century misericord depicts a wild-man controlling a lion which has a collar around its neck and a chain attached. This motif is repeated, for example, in a misericord at Lincoln, and also on a poppy head in the south stalls of the Lincoln choir, where a wild-man rides a lion which is controlled by a chain. At Norwich Cathedral a 1420 misericord depicts a wild-man controlling two chained lions, and a 1480 misericord depicts a wild-man sitting on a chained lion. In terms of the developing allegory this represents a stage beyond the account given in the French bestiary quoted above: the lion (i.e. the body) is not killed by the wild-man (i.e. the soul) but is controlled and restrained.

The remarkable feature of the St. Mary's misericord which includes the motif of lion and wild-man is that it represents a stage beyond the enforced control of the lion. In this misericord there is a single wild-man between two lions sejant. Below the wild-man and the lions are two wyverns, and all three are in effect trampling the wyverns. This

repeats in part the theme of the previous misericord, where the wyverns flee in fear from the gentle wild-men. Now, however, wild-man and lions co-operate in the quelling of evil. The appearance and posture of the wild-man are identical with the appearance and posture of the wild-men in the previous misericord, except that here the gesture of affection is directed towards the lions: the wild-man touches one lion's mane, and both lions reciprocate with their paws. In terms of the traditional allegory, I take this to be its ultimate development. The lion no longer needs to be fought or killed, nor does it need to be chained. Lion and wild-man are now associated in tenderness and friendship. Indeed, in terms of the allegory, this misericord may be seen as a representation of the proper harmony of body and soul. Such a development would similarly explain the alternating lions and wild-men on the East Anglian fonts.

While Druce's references to wild-men in medieval English art are generally thorough and wide-ranging, he does not refer to the wild-men on the misericords at Beverley St. Mary's. This present study, while of necessity tentative on some points (there can be no absolute certainties in interpreting iconographical details of this kind), suggests that the wild-men misericords of St. Mary's should be at the forefront of any account of the fascinating development of the wild-man motif in English medieval art.



## THE SCROPE TAPESTRIES

by Hugh Murray

In June 1987 Charles McCarter, Minster Inventory Officer, in the course of a routine search for 'lost' or 'forgotten' artefacts, discovered in a store room in the stone-yard three late Victorian picture frames. Two of their glasses were broken but, luckily, this had not harmed their soiled and dusty contents which proved to be fragments of medieval tapestry – two displaying the arms of Scrope of Masham and the third what appeared to be the head, body, one wing and one leg of an *eagle displayed*. They were secured by metal tacks to wooden boards contemporary with the frames, two having 'men's vestry No. 2 and No. 3' inscribed in pencil on their backs. In view of the importance of these fragments, which were much earlier than most other fabrics in the care of the Dean and Chapter, the only survivors of the considerable quantity of medieval textiles once possessed by York Minster, they were sent to the Castle Howard Textile Conservation Centre for cleaning and conservation, completed in 1989.

On the most complete fragment (Plate 1), the shield is surrounded by a trail of leaves, flowers and thorns which starts below the shield, circles clockwise round it and finally twines round its own stem. There are 27 leaves, on branches sprouting from the main stem, shaded in colours varying from dark green, light green, yellow, white, dark brown to salmon pink, and five stylised flowers with white petals and yellow stamens. The whole design is set on a red ground which has a selvedge along its lower edge. At some time the tapestry has been reversed and the loose weft threads on the original back neatly woven in to make that side suitable for display. This reversal has also required that the yellow *bend* on the shield was rewoven to avoid it becoming an incorrect *bend sinister*. In the eighteenth century the fragment has been disfigured with graffiti in black ink which have resisted the attempts of the conservators to remove them. In addition to a number of dots and lines the letter D appears several times, one extended to 'Dean' and there is also a name and date – 'Richard Johnson AD 17--'. These letters and words have been written with the tapestry upside down. Over the years it has sustained some damage; a number of holes, mostly near its upper edge and now repaired, had appeared where the warp was broken and in some areas the weft was missing. After cleaning it was found that many areas had been previously repaired by reweaving.

The other heraldic fragment was in a much poorer condition, and consisted of four pieces with numerous holes, which had been roughly matched and sewn together leaving a gap above and to the right of the shield filled in with two pieces of brown vinyl fabric. It, too, has been reversed and a curved section, possibly to accommodate the head of an arch, has been cut from the lower edge and replaced later by two pieces cut from another tapestry of a slightly different colour and warp direction. While the overall design is the same as the other fragment there are small differences in the arrangements of branches and leaves in the trail which has 25 leaves and four flowers on the remaining part. This indicates that the tapestries were woven by at least two different persons who were allowed to express a certain amount of individuality within the constraints of an overall design. On this fragment the graffiti consist of many blots

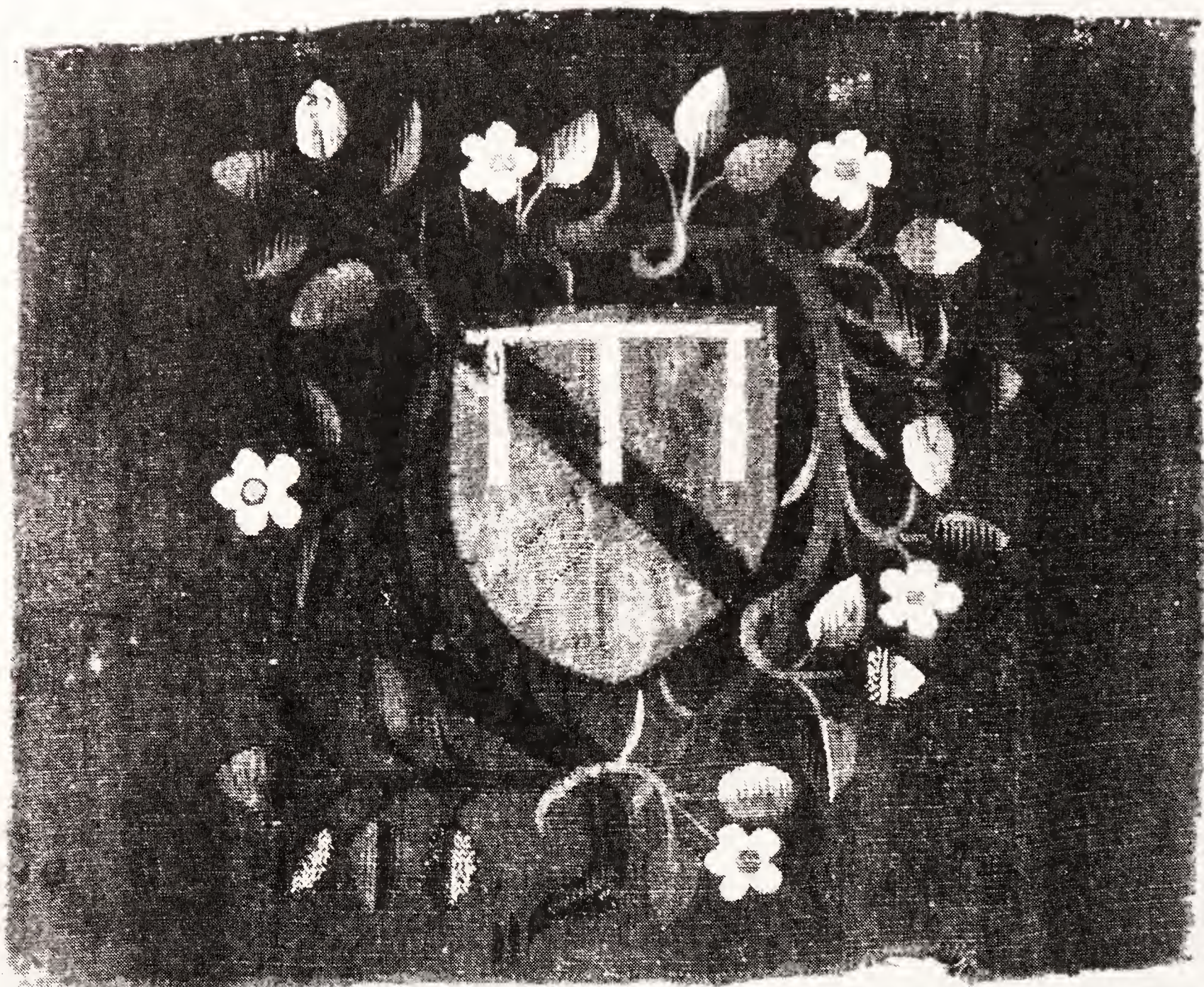


Plate 1. The more complete armorial fragment after conservation. The evidence for a reversal necessitating the reweaving of the bend can clearly be seen.

and lines suggesting that it has been used as a pen cleaner. After conservation the four principal pieces were woven together and the gaps filled in by a distinguishable weave of red, white and blue wools.

The feathers of the eagle are woven in cream shaded with fawn (Plate 2). It has a blue and cream torse round its neck, a blue tongue protruding from a yellow beak and it stands on a branch which sprouts a leafy twig, both woven in various shades of green. Again it has been used as a pen cleaner. To make it the same size as the other two fragments the remains of the eagle had been tacked to a piece of plain red tapestry, also soiled with graffiti including the date AD1761. A number of repairs has been made to both pieces at an earlier time. The eagle has now been detached from the plain tapestry and woven to a modern piece.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of tapestries, of which these fragments form a small part, has been noticed on a number of occasions over the centuries, not only in the Minster but elsewhere. The earliest description is in an inventory of Minster possessions made in 1500 and revised in 1510. This merely records that among the hanging cloths for the choir were *duodecim peciae rubeae cum armis Domini le Scrope* – 12 pieces of red with the

1. Report on the Scrope Tapestries by Lyndall Bond, Keeper of Textile Conservation, Castle Howard, York, June 1989.

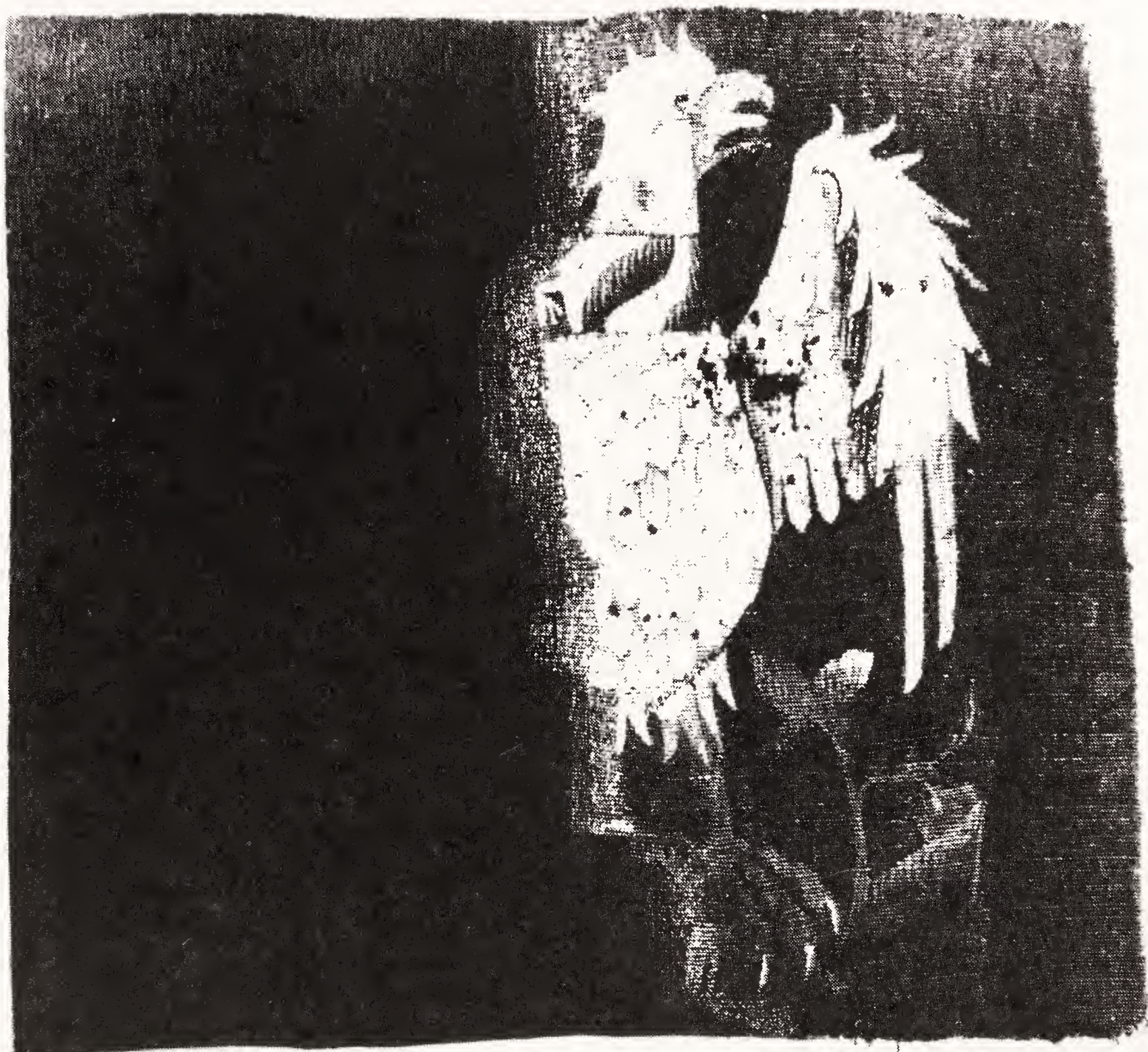


Plate 2. The eagle fragment, after conservation. It has been woven to a modern piece of fabric.

arms of Lord Scrope.<sup>2</sup> More detail is given by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, at his 1584 visitation when he tricked in his Church Notes 'These 2 garnished a Cloth that hanged in the Quyer of St Peters church in Yorke'. The drawing shows the eagle wearing an armorial cloak and facing left (heraldic *dexter*). Joseph Foster, in 1875, translated the trick into a blazon:—

Azure, a bend or, a label of 3 points argent SCROPE. A crest, a falcon rising argent, beaked and membered or, collared with a torse azure and ermine, from which flows a mantle bearing azure, a bend or, a label of 3 points argent, standing on the branch of a tree vert.<sup>3</sup>

This description is further amplified by James Torr in 1691 who lists 'belonging to the Quire and which are remaining are... 12 pieces of red with the Arms of the Lord

2. Sir W. Dugdale *Monasticon Anglicanum* Vol 3 (1673) p 176; J Raine (ed.) *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* Surtees Society 35 (1859) p 227. This transcription of the inventory has a number of errors and omissions.

3. B. L., Harleian MS 1394 f 155r (between 1603 and 1613). This is one of a number of copies of Glover's church notes. It corresponds almost exactly with the drawing in his 'Book of Entrances' in the College of Arms, f 253v, letter from R.C. Yorke, Archivist, 23 January 1991; J. Foster (ed.) *The Visitation of Yorkshire* (1875) p 432.



Plate 3. An early 17th century copy of the drawing made by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald, at the 1584 visitation. [By permission of the British Library]

Scrope of Massam, wrought thereon at equal distances thus' followed by a drawing of a heater shaped shield with the Scrope arms blazoned 'B a bend O a fyle of 3 poynts A', and an eagle, facing right, with a triangular cloak emblazoned with the same arms but with the field scattered with what may be ermine spots.<sup>4</sup> His crude representation of the eagle is, however, more like that on the remaining fragment than the portrayal in an early seventeenth-century copy of Glover's original notes where the shield and eagle have been drawn to fit the limited space available on the page and thus cannot be relied on as an accurate guide to the size and disposition of the various components of the design.

Neither Glover nor Torr, who also recorded other hangings for the choir (discussed later), imply in their descriptions that they saw the Scrope tapestries in use in the choir. In fact, from an inventory, contemporary with Torr's, made on 22 December 1691 when Oswald Langwith became clerk of the vestry, it is quite clear that 'two setts of hangings for the quire, the one redd and ye other blew' were in the outer vestry at this time. Three similar inventories of 19 May 1616, 16 January 1633/4 and 11 November 1681 are not so specific, merely recording that the Minster property in the care of the vestry clerk included 3 suits of hangings for the choir.<sup>5</sup>

The tapestries were still in the Minster in 1736 when Francis Drake wrote that 'on the furniture cloths of the vestry are the arms of Scrope, Lord Masham', a description repeated when his work was republished by Ann Ward in 1768 and Wilson and Spence in 1788.<sup>6</sup> From this time tracing the whereabouts of the tapestries becomes more

4. J. Torr, York Minster Library MS L 1/7, p 109. [Torr himself spelt his name without the final e].

5. Raine, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp 315, 317, 318.

6. F. Drake *Eboracum* (1736) p 481. A. Ward (pub.) *An Accurate Description and History of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York* (1868) p 23. Wilson and Spence (pub.) *Eboracum* (1788) p 269.

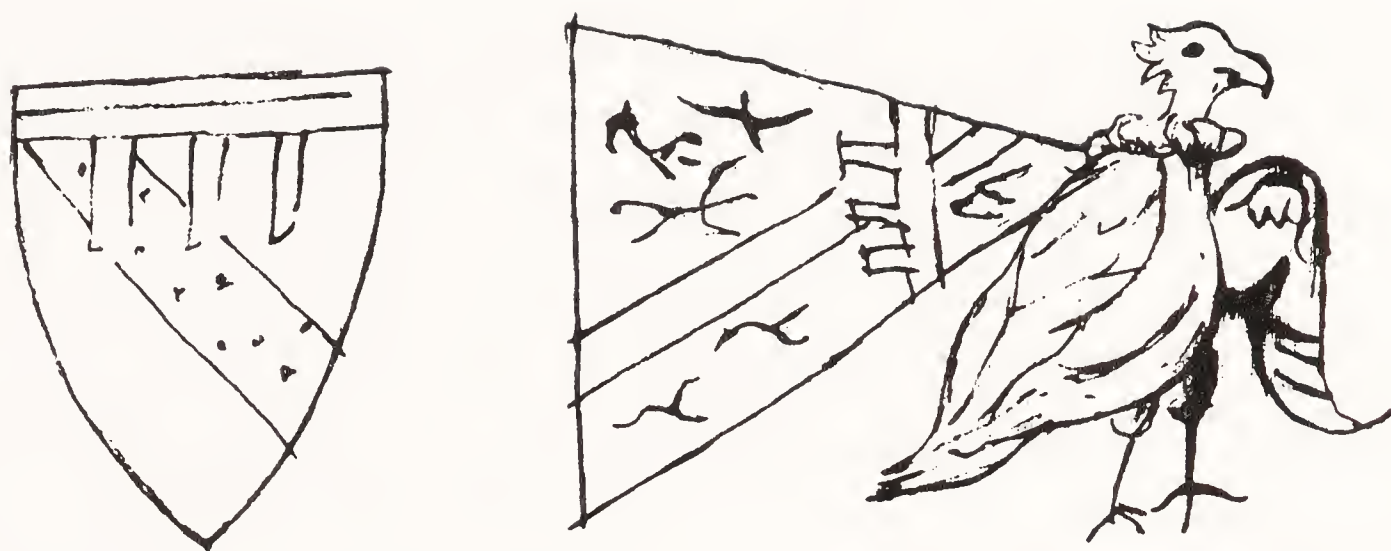


Plate 4. James Torr's representation of the Scrope shield and the mantled eagle. [Redrawn by C. W. D. Green]

problematical. Canon James Raine must, at least, have seen the eagle fragment while preparing *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster* for publication in 1859, for he adds to Torr's description the words 'A like coat [with the field, apparently, powdered with Cornish choughs, one of which is at the head of the shield]'.<sup>7</sup> On 4 January 1870 he presented the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (YPS) with a piece of tapestry, bearing the arms of Lord Scrope of Masham, which he had picked up in a mason's yard. He believed it to be all that remained of the original choir hangings of the Minster which had been taken down some 100 years previously and placed in the Deanery.<sup>8</sup> The YPS hung this piece, framed, in the ethnological room of the museum. The description in its 1881 catalogue exactly matches the two surviving heraldic fragments and adds 'that this fragment got into lay hands and was saved from destruction a few years ago: another fragment is in the vestry of the Minster'.<sup>9</sup> The next edition of the catalogue, compiled by Canon Raine as Keeper of Antiquities and published in 1891, does not mention the tapestry and it may by this date have found its way back to the Minster to join the other piece, for in 1907 Dean Purey-Cust noticed 'on the North Wall [of the Zouche chapel], framed, are the only surviving fragments of "the furniture cloths" which Drake mentions, containing the Arms of Scrope, *azure a bend or*, with a portion of the white falcon which was the badge of that family'.<sup>10</sup> The final record, like the first, is in an inventory of the Minster. This states that in 1921 there were 3 pieces of needlework on the south wall of the Zouche chapel, 'two of which shew the arms of Archbishop Scrope'.<sup>11</sup>

These records of the history of the tapestries shows that they were woven before 1500 but to obtain a more precise date for their manufacture other factors, the wool dyes, style, heraldry, and the relationship of the Scropes of Masham with the Minster, must be considered. All three fragments have been woven in wool yarns for both the weft and the warp, which are coloured with vegetable dyes. The blues have probably been derived from woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), a common import from British possessions in France, rather than indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria*) from India but rare in this country until the sixteenth century. The various shades of red are compounded from dyer's madder (*Rubia tinctorum*) identified by the presence of alizarin. Madder was grown in England

7. Raine *op.cit.* in note 2, p 306.

8. Yorkshire Philosophical Society, *Annual Report* (1871).

9. C. Wellbeloved *A Handbook to the Antiquities in the Grounds and Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society* 7th edition (1881) p 171.

10. A. P. Purey-Cust *Walks Round York Minster* (1907) p 16.

11. York Minster Library MS M2(2)r (1920); MS M2(2)q *York Minster Inventory* (1921).

in the medieval period but some was imported from the Low Countries by the fifteenth century. Weld (*Reseda luteola*), a common wayside plant, is the source of the yellow dye, while green has been produced from a mixture of weld and woad. Tannin, produced from barks, nuts and galls, has been used to produce various shades of brown. As all these dyes are commonly found in medieval textiles from northern Europe they do not help to determine either a more exact date or even the place of origin of the tapestries.<sup>12</sup> The simple shading of the leaves and the stylised flowers point to a late fourteenth or fifteenth century date while the plain ground on which they are woven may eliminate a later date.<sup>13</sup> This simplicity in the design may also suggest that the tapestries were not imported from the Continent and could perhaps be the work of English, possibly, local craftsmen. In the fourteenth century York had a Gild of Tapiters, weavers of carpets and tapestries, whose earliest known ordinances were made before 1419. Their principal work was the weaving of coverlets for beds.<sup>14</sup>

The arms used by the Scrope family since at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, *azure a bend or*, the subject of the famous Scrope versus Grosvenor controversy determined in the favour of Sir Richard Scrope at the Court of Chivalry between 1385 and 1390, do not provide any useful dating information. Neither does the shape of the shield on which they are displayed. This is typical of the late fourteenth century when the divergence from the type used on the field of battle begins. To make it more adaptable to an undistorted arrangement of charges it had become squatter and more straight sided than its prototype. The plain silver label, added by the Scropes of Masham to distinguish themselves from the senior line, the Scropes of Bolton, since the time of Sir Geoffrey Scrope, died 1340, has been used as a difference mark since the beginning of the thirteenth century. The form of label used on the two surviving tapestry fragments, not reaching the edges of the shield, is, however, unusual. The plain label, displayed by the eldest son during the lifetime of his father, is, by its very nature, a temporary device and may have been attached to the surface of the shield, not an integral part of the heraldic design. An example of this sort can be seen on the modern replica of the Black Prince's shield, hanging over his tomb at Canterbury, which has a cloth label wrapped round it and secured behind it. The original shield, now taken down for preservation in a controlled atmosphere nearby, does not show any sign of a permanent label having been incorporated into the shield surface. The truncated label used on the tapestry fragments may be an attempt to indicate its permanent incorporation into the blazon by the Scropes of Masham. Other families, e.g. Courtenay and Barrington, also use a label as a permanent addition to the charges on their arms for the same reason, to indentify another branch of the family.

The identification of the bird on the third fragment as an eagle cannot be made with complete certainty on the basis of its stylised representation, constrained by the techniques of weaving and bearing only a casual resemblance to its counterpart in nature. Heraldically, however, the eagle usually has a tufted head and neck while the falcon's are smooth. Foster was the first to describe it as a falcon. Glover and Torr, while both making a drawing of it, did not attempt a blazon (Plates 3, 4). Dean Purey-Cust in calling it the white falcon badge of the Scrope family is, almost certainly, basing his identification of the bird on Foster's blazon and has followed Sir Harris Nicolas in describing it as a badge.<sup>15</sup> The Scropes of Bolton, on the other hand, did

12. Report by Penelope Walton, Textile Research Associates, 10 June 1988.

13. Letters from Miss Wendy Hefford, Assistant Keeper, Department of Textile Furnishings and Dress, Victoria and Albert Museum, 10 and 20 July 1987.

14. M. Sellers (ed.) *York Memorandum Book Part I*, Surtees Society 120 (1912) pp xxxi, 84-86, 109.

M. Sellers (ed.) *York Memorandum Book Part II*, Surtees Society 125 (1915) pp 195-8, 306.

15. Sir N. H. Nicholas *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor* Vol 2 (1832) p 132.

have a badge in the 14th century. In 1475 'the Lord Scrope' [John, 5th Lord Scrope of Bolton] when serving with Edward IV in Normandy and France had on his standard a 'Cornyche chowe', a black bird with red beak and wings.<sup>16</sup> Stylistically the eagle on the tapestry is very similar to one used as a supporter on the stall plate in St. George's chapel, Windsor, of Sir John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was created a Knight of the Garter in 1440 and died in 1444.<sup>17</sup> The other branch of the family also, at a slightly later date, introduced the eagle into its heraldic achievement for a now unknown reason. By the beginning of the sixteenth century Sir Henry Scrope of Bolton was using eagles as supporters. They can be seen carved in an old pew doorway of c. 1510, once at Easby Abbey but now at the east end of the north aisle of the nave of Wensley church as well as in a bench end of 1527 in the same church.<sup>18</sup>

Although only a part of the eagle survives and could thus be thought to be, when complete, an *eagle displayed*, the drawings made by Glover in 1584 and Torr in 1691 show that, in fact, it had spread out behind it a mantle bearing the arms of Scrope of Masham, a not unusual form of heraldic display of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A good example of this can be found in the fragments of a tapestry in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, U.S.A., and elsewhere which includes unicorns, stags, elephants and lions with armorial mantles, including on the unicorn the arms of Beaufort quartering Turenne and impaled with Comminges, the family for whom it was made, it is believed, in Paris, possibly in the late fourteenth century although some authorities have given it a date in the middle of the next century. It is suggested that these animals refer to the persons or families identified by the coats of arms, a possibility not to be overlooked in the Scrope fragment.<sup>19</sup> What is unusual about the Scrope eagle is that its mantle, according to Torr's but not Glover's drawing, is powdered with some unidentifiable devices. These may be a variety of ermine spot, unusual if not unknown on an azure field or, possibly, diapering. A trace of one of these devices can still be seen on the torse by which the mantle is attached to the eagle's neck. Raine, perhaps with more of the torse still existing in the middle of the last century said, strangely in view of their being woven in cream thread, that the field was 'apparently, powdered with Cornish choughs'. He must have known of the 'Cornyche chowe' badge of the Scropes of Bolton as he also identifies the eagle as this bird.<sup>20</sup> The eagle now faces the heraldic *sinister* but the tapestry has been reversed at some time, as have the the other two pieces, but on these the *bend* has been rewoven to avoid it becoming a *bend sinister*. The reason for this will be discussed later.

The associations of the Scropes of Masham with York Minster during the fifteenth century were particularly strong. After Archbishop Richard Scrope, a member of this family, was beheaded on 8 June 1405 his body was brought to the Minster for burial in St. Stephen's chapel at the eastern end of the north choir aisle. He was locally raised to the status of an unofficial saint and his tomb became the focal point for a cult. From this time the chapel became associated with the Masham Scropes and was more usually called 'Scrop Chapell'. Sir Stephen Scrope, second Lord Scrope, was buried there six months after his brother, the archbishop, as well as three of his sons – Archdeacon Stephen Scrope in 1418, Sir John Scrope, fourth Lord Scrope, in 1455 and William Scrope, archdeacon of Durham, in 1463. Sir Stephen's eldest son, Sir Henry Scrope, third Lord Scrope, wished to be buried there but he was attainted and executed

16. J. Foster *Banners, Standards and Badges from a Tudor manuscript in the College of Arms* (1904) p 104.

17. W. H. St John Hope *The Stall Plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter* (1901) Plate LVIII.

18. W. Page (ed.) *Victoria County History A History of Yorkshire North Riding Vol 1* (1914) p 277.

19. A. S. C  vallo *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Boston (1967) pp 49-51.

20. See note 6.

for treason at Southampton in July 1415. Nevertheless after his marriage in 1411 to Joan Holland and before his death he had installed in a window in the northern clerestory of the choir (N IX) a series of armorials, in the tracery commemorating his archiepiscopal uncle and his parents and, at the foot of the window, five larger shields with his own arms differenced *cum Umbra Leonis in le Bende*, with the shadow of a lion on the bend. Shortly before his death archdeacon Stephen Scrope had added a full sized figure of the prelate to the stained glass in the eastern window of the choir south transept and in his will he left a crucifix in gold for the high altar weighing 1 lb, thereby emulating his father who had bequeathed to the Minster, on his death in 1405/6, a little gold cross decorated with four great diamonds. The munificence of Sir John Scrope was particularly large. In his will, dated 1451, he directed that 'two fair candlesticks of silver gilt [weighing 9 lb 4 oz], with my arms upon them, which I have lately given to the high altar, be placed upon my tomb'. It is likely that he was also the donor of a great crucifix flanked by the images of St. Mary and St. John and including the arms of Lord Scrope on the foot. His son Thomas Scrope, fifth Lord Scrope, founded a chantry in St. Stephen's chapel on 7 June, licensed on 27 June, 1459 for two chaplains to pray for a large number of members of his family, including the archbishop.<sup>21</sup>

Of these members of the Scrope family the one who almost certainly presented the Minster with the 12 sets of hangings for the choir, of which the three fragments are all that survive, is Sir John Scrope who was admitted to the Gild of Corpus Christi, York, in 1416/7, knighted on 15 February 1423/4, restored to the family estates and the barony in 1426, made his will in 1451 and died in 1455.<sup>22</sup> As well as the two candelabra for the high altar and the cross which included a figure of St. John it is possible that he also gave the large red coverlet with the arms of Lord Scrope for the steps of the high altar.<sup>23</sup> The set of hangings, which included in its design a rebus for his name, the eagle symbol of St. John the Evangelist with the arms of Scrope, on the mantle, surely marks the completion of his adornment of the choir. While they could have been presented at any time between 1426, and 1455 a date at the latter end of this period is most likely, perhaps contemporary with his gift of the two candelabra shortly before he made his will in 1451. A contemporary use of a symbolic signature of this sort can be seen in the decoration of the SW tower of the Minster where, below the sill of the window on the west side, there is a frieze which includes the alternating motifs of an eagle and a bear for John Bermingham, Treasurer of York 1432-57, the donor of the belfrey.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to these Scrope tapestries the Minster had two other sets of hanging cloths for the choir. One set is recorded in the 1500 inventory as twelve pieces of white with red roses matching a white coverlet for the altar steps similarly adorned. These white hangings with Lancastrian roses were not mentioned by Glover in 1584 but Torr in 1691 amplified the earlier description as '12 pieces of White with Red Roses charged in the midst with an Escoccheon of the Lord Scroopes Armes' and followed it with a sketch. The third set was slightly smaller, eight pieces of blue with the arms of John

21. T. W. French, The Tomb of Archbishop Scrope in York Minster, YAJ Vol 61 (1989) pp 95-102; H. S. London, The Ghost or Shadow as a Charge in Heraldry, *Archaeologia* Vol 93 (1949) pp 141-144; Nicolas *op. cit.* in note 14, pp 121-137, 151; Raine, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp 217, 218, 219, and 301; W. Page (ed.) *Yorkshire Chantry Surveys* Vol 1, Surtees Society 91 (1894) p 25.

22. G.E.C. *The Complete Peerage* Vol 5 (1949) pp 566-8.

23. Dugdale, *op. cit.* in note 2, p 176.

24. I am grateful to Bernard Barr for drawing my attention to this frieze. J. Browne *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St Peter, York* Vol 1 (1842) p 231. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (ed.) *A History of York Minster* (1979). J. H. Harvey p 173.

Pakenham, according to the 1500 inventory. Glover gives the blazon of the arms and further adds that the shield was set in the middle of the initial letter P of Pakenham. The final detail is given by Torr who saw '8 pieces of blod [i.e. blue] with the Arms of John Pakenham Treasurer & Abp Kempe at Equall distances' again followed by a sketch in which Kempe's arms, See of York (ancient) impaling Kempe, are on a shield within a trail of leaves. The existence of these blue and white suits of hangings were also recorded in the inventories made in the seventeenth century when a new vestry clerk was appointed. Only in one case, in 1681, is any other detail other than colour given. On this occasion the roses on the white suit are mentioned. The Minster also owned three blue coverlets for the altar steps with Pakenham's arms on them and one great red coverlet which had *garbs*, from the arms of Kempe, on it.<sup>25</sup>

John Pakenham was a cleric, probably from Kent, who was brought to York by Archbishop John Kempe, a member of a family from Wye in Kent and possibly a relative. He was given a number of preferments at Ripon, Southwell, York and London both by Archbishop Kempe and his nephew, Thomas Kempe, bishop of London, 1450-89. At York Pakenham was first admitted to the prebend of Langtoft in 1445 in succession to his brother, Hugh Pakenham, who had held it since 1441. In 1450 he transferred to the prebend of Strensall before becoming Treasurer of the Minster in 1459, a post he held until his death in 1477 when he was buried in the middle aisle of the nave, the usual area for treasurers, under a blue marble slab inscribed with his arms. The first two events occurred during the archiepiscopate of John Kempe which lasted from 1425 to 1452 when he was translated to Canterbury where he was prelate until his death in 1454. The archbishop's executors refused to act and Dr [John] Pakenham was one of the persons appointed by the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, to administer Kempe's will.<sup>26</sup> As the arms of York and Canterbury were the same at this time Kempe's heraldic achievement would not have altered when he moved to Canterbury and so do not specifically indicate a date before or after 1452.<sup>27</sup> These hangings, however, would appear to be the gift of John Pakenham either on gaining one of the several preferments bestowed on him by the archbishop between 1445 and 1450 or later on the death of Kempe. In the first case the inclusion of Kempe's arms would serve as a thank offering to the archbishop for his generosity and in the second as a memorial to his benefactor but in either case Pakenham's gift to the Minster was contemporary with that of Sir John Scrope and perhaps may even predate it slightly. That there were two sets of Scrope hangings of different colours may imply that Pakenham had already made his gift to the Minster when Sir John came to make his. He would thus have been unable to provide a scheme of decoration for the choir which would, at all times, display the Scrope prestige and influence. This surely would have been his intention but he would have had to be content with giving just two sets of hangings and coverlets, in the latter case duplicating a blue Kempe coverlet already provided, to complete the liturgical requirements. If this is so then the Scrope fragments must fall into the period 1445, when Pakenham was admitted to his first prebend, and 1451, when Sir John Scrope made his will.

Whichever came first, the colours of the Scrope and Pakenham tapestries, red, white and blue, must have been planned as a group to allow the Dean and Chapter to change the decoration of the choir according to the seasons of the church's year, the later gift

25. See notes 2, 3, 4 and 5.

26. J. Le Neve *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, Northern Province* (1963) pp 14, 63, 81;

A. B. Emden *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500* Vol 3 (1959) pp 1419-20;

J. Raine *Testamenta Eboracensia* Vol 3, Surtees Society 45, (1865) pp 229-31; F. Kitchen-Kemp *A General History of the Kemp and Kempe Families* (n.d. c. 1902) p 54; Drake *op. cit.* in note 5, p 499.

27. H. Murray, Heraldry of the See of York, *York Historian* 8 (1988) pp 11-24.

supplementing the earlier. The general rule of liturgical colours was not formulated until 1570 when Pope Pius V reformed the missal. The colour rubric in this included green, only used previously in a very few places for Sundays after Trinity. Before then the sequences of colours varied from location to location and were inevitably confined to the richer establishments who could afford to have several sets of vestments, coverlets and hangings. Even then it was often the practice for the newest and best vestments of whatever colour to be used for the principal festivals and the older ones to be relegated to other occasions.<sup>28</sup> Before the standardisation of colours the rule at York does not seem to have been entirely consistent but three colours were prevalent. Red was used for Advent and Michaelmas Day, white for Palm Sunday, Whit Sunday and Lent although in the time of Edward VI (1548-53) the Minster had a blue vestment for this season. The 1500 inventory mentions a hanging of blue buckram for covering the image of St. Peter in Quadragesima and a suit of blue brocade for Advent and Septuagesima.<sup>29</sup> It has also been argued that blue vestments were used at York for Trinity and Whit Sundays.<sup>30</sup> The dominance of these three colours can be seen among the copes recorded in the 1500 inventory. Out of an incredible total of 297 there were 76 red copes, 71 white and 70 blue. The remaining 80 were divided into green 34, black 26 and purple 20.<sup>31</sup>

The last question to be considered is where these hangings, of which the three Scrope fragments are the sole survivors, were used in the choir. Until 1726 when the choir was moved one bay eastwards it comprised the westernmost five bays of the eastern arm of the Minster and the space for a set of 12 hangings was extremely limited. From the presence of a selvedge at the bottom of the heraldic fragments the height of the tapestries can be deduced to be approximately 800 mm. The shield and trail of leaves occupy 873 mm laterally and what remains of the eagle about 370 mm. Using Torr's drawing as a guide it would appear that the mantle must have occupied twice as much again. Certainly these proportions are observed in the Beaufort fragment already mentioned. This would require about 1110 mm for the complete design. Glover stated that these two devices 'garnished a cloth' and Torr described them as 'wrought thereon at equal distances'. The piece of plain tapestry to which the eagle was attached when it was recently rediscovered is 660 mm wide and may have come from the centre of a complete tapestry. Allowing twice this amount for the central and the two edge strips the total length of each of the Scrope tapestries would have been over 3303 mm or nearly 11 feet in width. The space between the choir pillars is 26 ft 6 ins between centres and 19 ft between adjacent faces. Two of the tapestries could thus have more than filled the smaller space and may have been long enough to fill the larger.

The full set of 12 tapestries would then have been sufficient for three bays on each side of the choir, the full extent of the choir stalls which may have been constructed in two stages, a not unusual arrangement – at Carlisle, for instance, the stalls were erected between 1399 and 1413 but the tabernacle work was not added until after 1433.<sup>32</sup> By hanging the tapestries above the backs of the seats their height provided an adequate barrier to preserve the privacy and comfort of the canons until the provision

28. J. G. Davies (ed.) *A New Dictionary of Liturgy and Worship* (1986) pp 178-180;  
W. H. St. John Hope and E. G. C. Atchley *English Liturgical Colours* (1918) pp 161-3.

29. Hope and Atchley *op. cit.* in note 27, pp 146-9 and 154;  
Raine *op. cit.* in note 2, pp 227, 233, 275, 305, 311 and 312.

30. J. Fowler, On a Window representing the Life and Miracles of St. William of York, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* Vol 3 pp 261/2.

31. S. Hogarth, Ecclesiastical Vestments and Vestmentmakers in York, *York Historian* 7 (1986) p 8.

32. F. Bond *Stalls and Tabernacle Work in English Churches* (1910) pp 58/59.

of elaborate wooden canopies made them redundant for their original purpose. If, however the stalls and canopies had been completed before the tapestries were given to the Minster then an alternative position could have been above the parclose screens, which at that time occupied two bays on either side of the sanctuary, for which eight of the hangings, the number in the Pakenham set, would have been necessary with the remaining four from either of the Scrope sets above the screen, which was some 50 feet long, to the east of the high altar. Their use here could explain why the Pakenham set consisted of only 8 tapestries and give a further indication that it predates the Scropes sets. Treasurer Pakenham surely would not have had the arrogance or influence to display his arms behind the high altar but Sir John Scrope would not have been so inhibited and thus could have provided two larger sets when he came to make his gift. Either above the choir stalls or the parclose and altar screens the hangings could have been seen from both sides which would explain why the loose weft threads on their backs had been woven in but does not provide any reason for the reversal of the *bend*. This form of temporary barrier was not unknown in the Minster. In the fabric rolls for 1415 there is an item for 66 yards of cloth called 'westwall' [cloth of Westphalian origin] bought to form a reredos to the high altar.<sup>33</sup>

As has been remarked earlier all three fragments have at some time been reversed necessitating the reweaving of the *bend* of the Scrope arms. This was not because one side had faded to such an extent that the design could no longer be discerned – there is little to choose between either surface and both still have strong colours. The reversal may have been required because the surfaces displayed to the choir had become soiled with dirt, wax droppings from candles and, perhaps, if they were among those described in 1519 as lying openly in the presbytery, by 'dogges pysses on thame.'<sup>34</sup> If this was so the reweaving does seem to have been a fairly drastic and expensive solution to a problem which could have been obviated by cleaning, which must have been successfully carried out later but before the fragments were rediscovered. It is possible that the reversal was made to correct a mistake. Weavers work from the rear of a tapestry and may have woven the *bend* on the Scrope arms so that it looked correct to them but when viewed from the front it would have appeared as a *bend sinister*. This does not seem likely in a well established workshop where the technique of reversing the design would have been understood and could indicate that the tapestries were woven by relatively inexperienced, and possibly, local craftsmen. If, however, the weavers had been supplied with a cartoon with the design already reversed and had not realised this they may have then reversed it again before starting weaving which would have produced the mistake in the finished work.

Another, and perhaps the most likely, possibility is that the tapestries were correctly woven but after they had been displayed in the choir it was decided that all the eagles should face to the east requiring reversal of the six on the north side and the reweaving of the *bends* on the armorials. The eagles would then face *sinister*, as in Torr's illustration, rather than the more usual *dexter*, as in Glover's sketch. This, interestingly, shows a *bend sinister* on the mantle, an error possibly produced by the copyist drawing the bends on the two devices to lie parallel to each other without realising the effect it would produce. While, apart from the heraldry, a mirror image would have been produced across the choir by the reversal of six of the tapestries but the donor's signature, intended to read 'John (Eagle) Scrope (Armorial)', would then appear the wrong way round on the north side.

33. Raine, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp 30 and 36.

34. Raine, *op. cit.* in note 2, p 267. S. Hogarth, *Ecclesiastical Vestments at York Minster Before the Reformation*, p 14. in E. Ingram (ed.) *Thread of Gold* (1987),

While this reversal of an heraldic design would not seem probable in an armorially minded age examples are known of reversals for what may be a liturgical or devotional reason. All Saint's church in North Street, York, has a misericord, presented by John Gillyot who was rector there from 1467 to 1472/3, with his arms portrayed with a *bend sinister*, apparently intentionally as the donor's initials, also included in the design, have been carved correctly. Gillyot was also donor of the nave roof which contains, on a boss, an angel holding a shield with his arms with the normal *bend*. If the misericord had been installed on the north side the *bend* would have sloped upwards towards the east window. In the chancel of Chetwode church in Buckinghamshire there is in the glass on the south, but once on the north, side a late thirteenth century royal armorial with the lions facing *sinister*. In their original position the lions would have walked towards the east window.

The final chapter in the story of these three fragments starts in 1736 when Drake records that they were in the vestry used as furniture cloths, that is as wall decorations in that room. It may be when they were adapted for this purpose that the arch shape was cut from one of the two heraldic fragments. They must have been placed here when their original purpose had vanished, possibly when Archbishop Thomas Lamplugh (1688-91) gave a piece of crimson velvet fringed with gold to be placed at the back of the altar as well as three fine pictorial tapestries for the same use, or even during Dean Finch's alterations in 1726 when the altar was moved one bay eastwards.<sup>35</sup> When Canon Raine gave one to the YPS in 1870 he said that about one hundred years previously, they had been placed in the Deanery, presumably on the instructions of John Fountayne, Dean 1747-1802, who had ordered the removal of the altar tapestry in 1761,<sup>36</sup> the date written on the plain fragment once attached to the eagle. They next appear in a mason's yard, presumably after the Deanery was demolished in 1831<sup>37</sup> and then, after one had had a brief sojourn in the YPS museum all three fragments were reunited in the Zouche Chapel by 1907. It must have been during the period that the tapestries were stored, apparently upside down, in the Deanery that Richard Johnson, and possibly other graffitists, used them to remove surplus ink before testing their pens by writing letters and words on their surface. That these tapestries were so disregarded and could be considered for such a use was a sad fate for the last remaining pieces of a group of furnishings that had once included hangings, altar step coverlets, candelabra and a crucifix to adorn the medieval choir at the appropriate season. Here they had served as a reminder, for everyone who could see them, of the wealth and influence of the Masham branch of the Scrope family, and Sir John Scrope in particular, in the middle of the fifteenth century.

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35. Aylmer and Cant *op. cit.* in note 23, D. M. Owen pp 239, 257; Raine *op. cit.* in note 2 p 318; J. Browne *op. cit.* in note 23, Vol 1 pp 311, 313; D. & M. Palliser *York as they saw it* (1979) p 29.

36. Aylmer and Cant *op. cit.* in note 23, D.M. Owen p 258.

37. C. B. L. Barr, A Postscript to Three Deaneries *FOYM Annual Report* (1983) p 20.

## MINING AND SMELTING IN YORKSHIRE BY THE CLIFFORDS, EARLS OF CUMBERLAND, IN THE TUDOR AND EARLY STUART PERIOD.

by Richard T. Spence

A feature of English economic development in the early modern era was the quickening pace of the search for and conversion of mineral deposits, aided by improved mining and smelting techniques. Demand for coal as an alternative fuel to wood and for metals for agricultural and mining implements, industrial processes, domestic utensils, weapons and export was stimulated by the rise in population, the great rebuilding, recurrent warfare and an expanding overseas trade. At the forefront of the more intensive utilisation of mineral resources were the great landowning families. Nowhere is this more evident than in the North of England.<sup>1</sup> The contribution of the Cliffords, earls of Cumberland to this seminal phase in the establishment of the extractive industries in Westmorland has been considered in a previous article.<sup>2</sup> The purpose here is to describe their projects in Yorkshire and especially in Craven where they were the dominant landlords.

It was George, third earl of Cumberland (1558-1605) and his brother Francis, fourth earl (1559-1641) who began the systematic exploitation of the mineral resources on the large Clifford estates. Burdened from the fifteen-nineties by huge debts, they turned to mining and smelting to increase their estate income and supply their own wants in coal, lead and iron. Discovering deposits was a matter of trial and error and mining on a commercial scale called for heavy initial investment which might never be recouped. The earls commendably were prepared to risk their precious capital in anticipation of long-term profits. Their optimism was justified. Every one of their serious projects brought at least a modest income and some became valuable sources of revenue.

It was the scale of the earls' exploitation of the mineral resources which marks them from their predecessors, because there is in documents, bell-pits and scoriae evidence of widespread if usually short-lived workings on the Clifford properties in Craven from the early fourteenth century. An iron forge is recorded in Skipton Chase, though smelting had ended by 1327 after much destruction of woodland around far Barden.<sup>3</sup> The 1464 grant of John, Lord Clifford's forfeited lands included 'ores of lead and veynes of cole in the manor of Skipton and elsewhere'.<sup>4</sup> The best-recorded site is at Holden in Silsden where coal was being mined in 1310. One of Earl Francis's officers asserted in 1613 in a dispute (won by the earl) over his rights that his 'Ancestors digged for Coales neare bradhopp on the Comons without the Earles bounder and

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1. L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 338-355. The following corrects Stone's comments on the earls of Cumberland.
  2. 'Mining and Smelting by the Cliffords, earls of Cumberland in Westmorland in the early Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, XCI (Kendal, 1991), pp. 110-117
  3. *The Victoria History of the County of York*, ed. W. Page, II (1912), p. 348.
  4. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1461-67*, 1464 m. 3.

within the lymitts of the drifts without anie interrupcon.<sup>5</sup> The Shepherd Lord, as a rental of 1496 shows, also had iron mines at Holden, which brought £10 rent annually for his lady's purse.<sup>6</sup>

However, Barden and Silsden apart, the lands the earls mined were on manors they acquired from Henry VIII's reign onwards. Carleton, Lothersdale and Bradley were former Crown lands sold to Sir Henry Clifford, the future first earl, in 1514. Settle and Giggleswick were Percy Fee lordships obtained from his wife's family in 1537. The earl's purchase of Bolton Priory's estates from the Crown in 1542 gave him Halton and Cononley. Both moieties of Grassington had come into Clifford hands by 1559. Earl George bought Bordley in 1597 and Earl Francis the former Norton manors of Rylstone and Threshfield from James I in 1606.<sup>7</sup>

Small-scale lead mining is recorded on two of these manors prior to the Cliffords' acquisition, at Grassington in 1456 and by the monks at Cononley in 1530. But the Priory's chief workings were on Appletreewick Moor, which Sir Ingram Clifford was leasing at the Dissolution and where his mother Countess Margaret had a grove in 1535. The grant of Appletreewick to Sir Christopher Hales in 1539, before Earl Henry's purchase of the remaining Priory estates, lost the Cliffords the best established mining area in Craven.<sup>8</sup>

## I. COAL

The outcrop of coal in Craven is true coal of fair quality, falling geologically within the area of the Pennine coalfields. By the early seventeenth century seams were being worked at Carleton and Lothersdale as well as Holden and the coal used as fuel in Earl George's houses along with kiln-wood, ling and peat. In the fourteen Skipton leases he granted in 1604 the carrying of a sack of coal to Skipton Castle from Colne (twelve miles away) or some closer source was made an alternative to boon mowing, or fourpence paid in cash in lieu.<sup>9</sup> The Holden pits provided sixty loads in 1605, carried to the castle at one penny a load, and seventy-four in 1606, the coal being the earls' profits. Fifteen tenants of Carleton and Lothersdale covenanted to Earl Francis in 1606 to carry one load each from the pits there to the castle. This local coal was also burned in the limekiln set up near his house the Newbiggin in Carleton Park in 1607.<sup>10</sup> Bishop Pococke noted on his mid-eighteenth century travels that a horse-load at the Silsden pits was twenty stones of sixteen pounds, then worth fourpence; a reminder of the variability of weights, which in this discussion can only be approximate and as the documents give them.<sup>11</sup>

The development of the Craven coal reserves was done by Earl Francis. He followed a pattern in all his enterprises, making all the early investment himself. Through his officers he retained overall supervision; indeed, he leased coalmines to them and he claimed a share of the profits in cash and kind. This approach differed from that of

5. W. H. Dawson, *History of Skipton* (1882), p. 14; Yorkshire Archaeological Society (subsequently, YAS), DD 121/32/7. A map connected with the suit and showing the pits is DD/174.

6. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Dodsworth, 27 fol. 186v. L. C. Miall discussed the site in 'Ancient Bloomeries in Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.*, i (1870), pp. 110-15.

7. R. T. Spence, *The Cliffords, Earls of Cumberland 1579-1646* (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, London Univ., 1959), pp. 9-13, 112, 168.

8. M. B. Heynemann, *Appletreewick and District* (Shipley, 1947), p. 21; A. Raistrick, *Lead Mining in the Mid-Pennines* (Truro, 1973), pp. 23, 71-2, 90 (subsequently, Raistrick, 1973); T. D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (3rd edn, 1878), p. 513.

9. YAS, DD/121/29/33.

10. Chatsworth, Bolton MSS, Books 226, fols 196, 258, and end; 96, fol. 110v (subsequently, Bolton MSS).

11. 'The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke', ed. J. T. Cartwright, I, *Camden Society*, N.S. 42 (1888), p. 49.

many contemporaries who first ascertained profitability before taking over the operations themselves. But Francis felt the need for personal involvement instead of relying on the whim of others. Furthermore, as a resident nobleman (unlike George) he wanted to be self-sufficient. Then, from about 1616, he divested himself of this direct control, instead leaving tenants to operate the mines on longer term leases.

The earl sank capital into his existing mines and extended the search for seams elsewhere. The first certain exploration was near Barden Tower, then being refurbished, in Spring 1607. A collier, Lancelot Johnson, was paid 6s.8d., a week's wages, on 25 April 'to make a Tryall of getting Coles in Barden Parke.' On 15 May the earl's steward recorded 'this day the Colyer hath found a bed of halff a yard thick good Cole and a quarter of Cole myngled with Clay.' On the 23rd Johnson went home for his Whitsun holiday. By the end of May and throughout June he was sinking a coalpit at Threshfield at the same wage, helped first by Henry Calvert of Rylstone, at sevenpence a day, and then Thomas Fletcher.<sup>12</sup>

There were further searches in 1609, this time in Carleton Park, close to the Newbiggin where the earl now sometimes stayed. Here on 3 April a reward of £1 was given 'to one James Richards a skilfull man in Mynerie who did see my Lords groves and Colepitt and gave my Lord his Advise therein.' The miners were rewarded with £2, a large sum indicating a considerable number at work.<sup>13</sup> Successful searches were made in 1612 at Rylstone, where a coalpit was subsequently leased for £2 rent to a collier John Bradley.<sup>14</sup> Two workers were sinking a new coalpit at Bordley in March 1613. In the following May the collier Hepper agreed for £3 to sink a pit on Threshfield Moor until he found coal. In August John Bradley was working there.<sup>15</sup> More searches costing £1 10s. were made at Carleton in 1615-16.<sup>16</sup>

The most profitable of these Craven coalmines over the long term were at Bradley, Bordley and, in particular, Holden. The earl paid £9 for new searches at Holden in 1609, done under the supervision of his officer William Barker. His investment was soon recovered because he leased the mine in 1610-11 for £30 a year rent to his officers Michael Earnley gent. and Peter Lupton. Holden now supplied far more coal to the castle – 345 loads at two pence a load in 1612.<sup>17</sup>

There is no doubt that it was the earl who made the decision on this and the other operations. In a remembrance in April 1612 three of his senior officers – Sir Stephen Tempest of Broughton, Roger Sotheby Esq. of Pocklington, and John Taylor gent. of Bickerton – asked his clerk of the courts, George Heles gent. of Hartlington, what the earl's direction was touching Holden coalpits, what profits had been made and what course was best for his advantage, 'to dyspose them for a certenty, or to stand to the casualty.' Heles replied that the earl's direction was that Earnley, Barker and Peter Jennings gent. of Silsden should have the work and pay weekly, 'which for any thing I know', he added, 'is done.'<sup>18</sup> The earl seems to have switched responsibility for these mines from one group of officers to another, since in 1613 it was Stephen Taylor, Sotheby and Lupton who paid the £28 rent and Lupton who saw to the building of a collier's house there at a cost of £2 19s. But the earl paid £18 15s.5d. for making a sough.<sup>19</sup> It was the extension of these new workings which led to the successful suit

12. YAS, DD121/36A/2, fols 217, 219-20.

13. Bolton MSS, Bk 228, fol. 268.

14. Bolton MSS, Sundry I. 15, fol. 6; Chatsworth, Londesborough Papers, M/14, fol. 3 (subsequently, Londesborough Papers).

15. YAS, DD121/36A/4, fols 263v-4, 279.

16. Bolton MSS, Bk 129, fol. 7v.

17. Bolton MSS, Bks 228, title 22; 255, fol. 5; YAS, DD121/36A/4, fol. 98v.

18. Bolton MSS, Sundry I. 13.

19. Londesborough Papers, M/14, fols 3,8; Bolton MSS, Bk 127, fol. 7v.

over mineral rights mentioned above.

After almost a decade in which he had met the costs of investment, Earl Francis changed his policy to that of leasing out his coalmines. He granted the Holden pits to Roger Barker of Skipton and Thomas Barker of Cononley for three years from 2 February 1615, 'with libertie to sinke, digg, get, carry away and dispose the Coles there.' Besides their £90 rent the Barkers had to deliver 300 loads of coal a year to the castle at their own charge. They were allowed the colliers' houses already built, wood for the repair of the sough the earl had made and other parts of the work, under Rowland Tatham's supervision, and had to pay for the building of a smithy. They covenanted to leave the buildings for the earl's use at the end of the term, dispose of waste and back-fill the pits.

Having asserted his rights in the 1613 dispute, the earl granted the Barkers a monopoly of coalmining within the parish of Kildwick and upon the commons of Morton and Riddlesden or, should he allow any other mining there, an abatement of rent. A year later, on 13 January 1616, he granted a ten-years' lease of the Bradley pits to Robert Goodgion of Skipton, Peter Lupton and Roger Cowper. They were to search and dig for coal at their own expense and, having recouped their costs, pay him twelpence a year rent and half the clear profits. This bargain brought him £15 a year at least.<sup>20</sup>

The Holden mines at first yielded well for the Barkers. The earl bought 400 loads from them for £4 over and above the 300 he received by their lease and paid them nine shillings for filling in old pits dug before they took over. But in 1617 they made a loss. Occasional difficulties in production were normal, as seams ran out or new soughs had to be dug. Another hiatus occurred at Holden in 1632. After petitioning the earl, they were given £16 re-imbursement in February 1618. The Holden mines were rented at £58 11s.9d. in 1619.<sup>21</sup> In the twenty-five Silsden leases Earl Francis granted then, the tenants covenanted to carry coal from the pits to the castle.<sup>22</sup> During the sixteenth-twenties the profits varied between £40 and £50 annually. William Haineworth held the lease from 1630 to 1635, paying £53 6s.8d. a year, with half rebated in 1632. Peter Jennings took over on 11 April 1637, paying £120 as an entry fine instead of rent, and again in 1639. The Bordley pits, too, continued in production. In 1631 and 1632, the only years for which details are known, they were rented at £3 a year.<sup>23</sup>

The earl and his son Henry, Lord Clifford encouraged the search for other deposits from 1620 and happily several of their substantial tenants in Craven were now emboldened by the proven profits at Holden and elsewhere to risk their own capital. The terms were stringent. Henry Walker of Giggleswick had already borne 'great charges' and promised to spend up to £40 more when the earl granted him on 14 April 1629 an eleven years' lease of the mines and coalseams of Giggleswick and Settle at a yearly rent of twelpence. However, the lease was to be void if Walker did not start work within a year, or stopped for the space of a year. He was to be allowed to erect houses and shades over the pits he dug. As was usual, he covenanted to dispose of the waste and deliver up the work 'unspoiled and tennentable' at the end of the term.<sup>24</sup>

Earl Henry's indenture with John Lupton, yeoman of Bradley on 20 September 1641 gave the latter liberty for seven years to get coal on any of the earl's grounds, moors, wastes and even fields within the whole lordship of Bradley. He and his partners were to bear all the charges of digging and could sell the coal for their own profit. The earl's

20. YAS, DD121/24/3 *sub* Silsden; Bolton MSS, Bks 129, fol. 7v; 232, fol. 53.

21. YAS, DD121/36A/3, fol. 44; Bolton MSS, Bks 232, fol. 167v; 132, fol. 3v.

22. YAS, DD121/36A/6.

23. Bolton MSS, Bks 134, fol. 3; 175, fol. 5; 136.

24. Chatsworth, Curry L/45/33 (subsequently Curry).

officers would deliver them whatever trees they needed for 'Timbering of such Coalepitts & houses over them & for pickes spades & shovels shafts'. Lupton was to begin the work within a fortnight of the term starting on 25 March 1642 and to leave the work 'fayre wrought and unspoiled.' No rent was set. The condition was that if Lupton mined profitably he was to allow the earl free coal for the castle. In most leases granted now near to Skipton the carrying of two loads of boon coal was a standard clause. Before the outbreak of the Civil War there were trials at Bayldon Intake in Carleton, where a vein of coal was found five quarters thick under a fine quarry of stone, but the hostilities intervened before any working began.<sup>25</sup>

Of the nine Craven sites where coal had been certainly discovered, only those at Holden, Bradley, and Bordley are known to have been producing in quantity during the sixteen-thirties though later records suggest Giggleswick also was a successful project. The coal required for the castle was now either being carried by the tenants or bought in bulk in Skipton market for eightpence a load – all from the pits developed by the earl and sold by his tenants – or Colne at ninepence a load.<sup>26</sup> The widespread searches, begun almost as soon as Earl Francis took over the estates, had been rewarded with sizable cash profits and, more important, the provision of several thousand loads of free coal for his houses. He had, moreover, fostered an entrepreneurial spirit amongst his wealthier tenants largely absent before, which was to survive the set-back to production caused by the Civil Wars.

The limitations of mineral prospecting based only on intuition and experience were highlighted by the search for coal seams near Earl Francis's mansion at Londesborough in the East Riding which was heated by coal shipped from Newcastle. That expense made the earl all the keener to have his own supplies. Here again in this new project he and Lord Clifford took the initiative. In February 1620 the earl brought a Derbyshire miner, Robert Broomfield, from his son-in-law Sir Thomas Wentworth's place at Woodhouse 'to make tryall if any Coles could be founde'. Broomfield and his labourer spent five days, using their wimble and other instruments, at a cost of £1 7s., but found nothing. A month later, Mathew Robinson, a collier from Craven, came to Londesborough to see if the earl would have him seek coal. Because of Broomfield's failure he was sent home.

Disheartening though that exploration was, Lord Clifford renewed the search in the summer of 1635. A borer and his helper were employed to seek 'expected Coales' on Chapel Hill for several weeks in June and July, the cost £3 at the least. Robert Robotham, the earl's secretary, sceptically called it 'the supposed Coale pitt', and so it proved to be.<sup>27</sup> However, the nearness of the Selby coalfield to-day should mute any echoing of Robotham's critical view. Contemporary colliers had remarkable success on the Cliffords' estates without the benefit of modern science and technology.

Lady Anne Clifford inherited from Earl Henry the largest Craven mines, at High Holden and on a parcel of ground called the Stripp. She followed the same policy as her predecessors, granting a twenty-one years' lease on 29 August 1650 to two Silsden yeomen, Arthur Cryer and John Eastburn, for £40 rent and 'a sufficient provision of coles yerely for her honors house pitt-free.'<sup>28</sup> However, Richard Boyle, second earl of Cork, inherited the lordships with the greater potential for exploitation. He was to prove as responsive as Earls Francis and Henry to local enterprise, provided profit was in prospect. On 9 July 1652 Cork agreed with William Tennant, a blacksmith of Settle,

25. YAS, DD121/24/1, fols 69v, 45; Chatsworth, Unlisted MS, 'Notes of Business at Bolton 67, 68, 69.'

26. Bolton MSS, Bk 176, fols 135-41.

27. Bolton MSS, Bks 98, fols 140-41; 174, fols 173, 175, 127v.

28. YAS, DD121/110.

to try for coals in Giggleswick or Settle. Tennant was to have his reasonable charges deducted out of the earl's first profits, and then new conditions would be negotiated.

Another approach to Cork came from Hugh Stackhouse and his friends, Giggleswick men who in July 1653 were seeking a partner to share investment in opening up and sinking a new pit there. Humphrey Hughes, Cork's officer, took a collier from Newcastle, Robert Stapleton, to see the works, but he refused to invest the £20 the Giggleswick men requested. So they turned instead to the earl for £10, half the expected costs. The terms agreed at Christmas 1654 were that if coal was found the earl was to manage the pits as he chose, allowing his co-investors coal in lieu of their venture money. Hughes delivered the £10 on 23 April 1655.

In July he reported to Cork with concern that the Giggleswick men had spent £27 6s.3d. before he had time to view the work, which he 'utterly disliked.' Yet they were eager to continue and Hughes, reluctantly, gave them another £5 towards the costs already incurred. He also granted them a two-years' extension of their lease for further trials, they to pay all the expected £40 expenses and, if successful, deliver the pit to the earl. Their persistence was soon rewarded, and mining had become well-established in Giggleswick by the Restoration.

By contrast, another adventurer, Cuthbert Wade gent. of Kilnsey, was less fortunate. He took a year's lease of coalmining at Raisgill in Langstrothdale at £2 rent with abatement promised. The trial cost him £10 besides the rent. Hughes compensated him with ten shillings, but he 'absolutely deserted further search' at that place. Instead, on 15 December 1666 he sought from Cork a twenty-one years' lease of the royalties of coal within Threshfield and Rylstone and a stallion fit to breed from. Here, Wade, or another investor, was to have more success. By 1669 there were offers being made to Cork by groups of tenants to search about Flasby and Linton as well as hints to him of veins in Carleton and Cononley.<sup>29</sup> The wider exploitation of seams generally throughout Craven had begun by the sixteen-seventies, for instance on the fells of Halton, Embsay, Eastby, Rylstone and Cracoe leased by the earl of Burlington, as Cork now was, in 1677, as a natural extension of the entrepreneurial efforts of Earl Francis.<sup>30</sup>

## II. IRON

Pride of place in active interest in mineral extraction goes not to Earl George but his Countess Margaret. Their daughter, Lady Anne Clifford, wrote that Margaret 'was a lover of the study and practice of alchemy' and 'had some knowledge in most kinds of minerals.'<sup>31</sup> This was, perhaps, her chief inspiration, though profit was a greater motive than Anne allows. She exhibits a typical Elizabethan courtier enthusiasm, which she shared with her sister Anne, Countess of Warwick, an investor in the Minerals and Battery Company in 1591.<sup>32</sup> Margaret's first involvement, as will be seen, was in leadmining. By the early fifteen-nineties she was also investing in speculative experiments in the smelting of iron-ore, whereas Earl George was seemingly indifferent until 1595 and then came into competition with her.

There is a tantalising association between the Countess and Thomas Proctor of Warsill near Ripon who, with William Peterson, obtained on 9 October 1589 the first Elizabethan patent for smelting iron, steel and lead with coal, peat and charcoal, to

29. Londesborough Papers, I (i) 64; 55, fol. 69; Bolton MSS, Bks 275, fol. 22; 276, fols 25, 29; 277, fol. 23; 278, fol. 4; Chatsworth, Unlisted MS, 'Notes of Business at Bolton 67, 68, 69.'

30. Londesborough Papers, Unlisted MS, 'Agreement with Robert Ayreton of Eshton 29 August 1677'.

31. J. P. Gilson, *Lives of Lady Anne Clifford Countess of Dorset, Pembroke and Montgomery (1590-1676) and of Her Parents* (Roxburghe Club, 1916), pp. 19-20.

32. M. B. Donald, *Elizabethan Monopolies* (1961), p. 73.

last for seven years. Proctor sub-let the smelting-rights to others, such as Sir Edward Fitton of Gawsworth in Cheshire, and probably experimented at the Shipley ironworks owned by Edward Cage, citizen and grocer of London, who financed the work. It was asserted in 1593 that the iron produced there by Proctor was bad and brittle and his furnace poorly built.<sup>33</sup> Countess Margaret invested with these men or some other group. She wrote to Sir Robert Cecil in March 1595, after hearing that he and Earl George were seeking a similar patent from the Queen, that she and her partners had 'adventrued much to finde oute sum certainty and so mite clame some previlage'. Sensibly she deferred to him and asked that she and her (unnamed) partners be allowed to adventure with him and her husband.<sup>34</sup>

Cecil and Cumberland had in fact come to a far-reaching and long-term agreement with Proctor for the 'better raising of the Queen's imposition' on his patent (which suggests failure so far) and their own mutual benefit and advantage. As a preliminary, Peterson sold his interest to Proctor on 20 March. On 22 March Proctor assigned the patent, which still had eighteen months to run, to Cecil and Cumberland. In an indenture signed next day, they undertook to finance Proctor's future projects under terms which were complex and detailed. They promised to procure quickly for Proctor a reversion of the patent for as many years as possible, which he would also assign to them. They were to authorize Proctor or his nominee to search for suitable grounds on which to erect any works for making iron, steel, or lead under the patent, and negotiate leases with the owners. Proctor was to start with two ironworks that Spring and continue from February 1596 at a rate of two leases for building two ironworks a year for a period of thirty-one years. They were to make the final decision about any site.

The financial commitments were meticulously laid down. Cecil and the earl were to invest no more than £500 (£200 for building and £300 for stock) in any one ironworks and also provide lodgings for the clerk and officers. In a form of lease-back, Proctor was to take over the works and lease of the ground for the whole of the term. He was to pay them £1,000 in profit over six years in cash or bar iron at £10 a ton, proportionately less if the investment was less, and also to maintain the stock at the same level. Should they refuse a lease offered by Proctor, then he had the right to build a works, with furnace, forge and blow-hearth, for himself, but no other ironworks without their consent.

Proctor was not to take partners apart from them, which ruled out the Countess and her friends. He was allowed to invest and share the profits equally with them and buy at £10 a ton the bar iron they had not disposed of. Other terms covered payment of the Queen's imposition and provision of £20 for a preacher or for the poor of the parish where any ironworks was established. Cecil and Cumberland were to uphold the monopoly as far as they could. To judge by the fine details of the agreement, impossible to summarise here, this was for them a serious venture in which they would employ Proctor's supposed skills as an ironmaster yet subject him to the rigorous controls which a hard-headed business man like Cecil and his legal officers customarily imposed.

The scheme was highly ambitious. Had it come to fruition, sixty ironworks would have been erected, as many as were normally in production throughout England. What may have appealed most to Cecil and the earl, eager for profit and aware of the

33. The patent is printed in *Tudor Economic Documents*, ed. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (3 vols, 1924), II, pp. 262-6. For Cage, see W. Paley Baildon, *Baildon and the Baidons. A History of a Yorkshire Manor and Family* (3 vols, 1912-27), II, pp. 232-41. For Fitton, see Public Record Office (subsequently, PRO), Star Chamber, STAC 5/P35/24.

34. Hatfield MSS, 25.91. The calendar transcription, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Salisbury*, v, p. 159, is misleading.

military need for iron after a decade of warfare, was the let-out clause in Proctor's patent which enjoined him to use merely his 'best and dutyfull endeavor' to smelt iron-ore with seacoal, turf or peat in those areas where wood could be easily spared, since safeguarding timber resources on which England's maritime strength depended had been the justification for the grant. They would have been alert to the advantages a monopoly would give in the well-wooded districts, where only a token effort at technical innovation would be expected.<sup>35</sup>

Earl George was to construct one ironworks during the next three years, seemingly on his own account, in the Crimble valley on the edge of the Forest of Knaresborough, where he was steward. The Forest and the nearby townships of Spofforth and Follifoot had been 'a stronghold of the iron industry' during the Middle Ages and the location of sites would be a matter of common knowledge.<sup>36</sup> The earl was thus resurrecting an industry defunct for almost a century.

The agreement with Proctor was the impetus. Only two months after, on 17 May 1595, the earl's officers William Ingleby Esq. of Ripley and his brother Sampson, steward of the Percy manor of Spofforth, obtained from Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, a sixteen years' lease of Spofforth woods. Next day, they assigned it to Earl George for £1,200, probably the price they paid.<sup>37</sup> The lease was in keeping with Northumberland's policy then of withdrawing from direct concern with his northern estates. Spofforth manor was extensively wooded, though less so than in 1577 when a survey gave totals of 7,000 trees in the Park worth £1,040 and 1,400 in the Haggs worth £1,600, most of them within the limits of Cumberland's lease.<sup>38</sup> Felling of the woods brought him a steady income from local sales and was to provide the huge quantities of charcoal consumed by the ironworks he built a mile and a half away.

A year's delay then followed, because Cumberland did not complete the purchase of the lease until May 1596.<sup>39</sup> He and Cecil may have failed to persuade the Queen to grant the reversion of the patent. There is no record of a new grant, though the ten year gap before the next one, Chantrell's in December 1606, is suggestive.<sup>40</sup> More likely the Queen was the stumbling block in another way. Whereas the earl had the necessary timber in Spofforth and good quarrying stone on the banks of the Crimble, the iron ore lay within the Forest of Knaresborough, a Duchy of Lancaster property. Cumberland, though steward, was out of favour with the Queen during 1595 and 1596 over his privateering. He was, too, badly short of funds.<sup>41</sup> After a second delay of over a year, the project went ahead when Cecil was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy in October 1597. Reassured by Cecil, the earl built a water-powered forge with mill pond and races on the Crimble, lying partly within the Forest of Knaresborough and partly on the wastes of Follifoot. He then petitioned the Queen for a grant. Obviously he had not been deterred by the current two years' collapse in iron prices which affected production at Roger Manners, fifth earl of Rutland's great Rievaulx ironworks.<sup>42</sup>

In response to the petition, a commission was appointed – by Cecil – to enquire into the feasibility of iron-smelting on the Crimble and estimate the rent to be paid to the

35. Hatfield MSS, Deeds, 94/8.

36. *VCH, Yorks.* II, pp. 346-7.

37. Leeds City Archives, Ingilby Records, 2824.

38. E. J. Fisher, *Some Yorkshire Estates of the Percies 1450-1650* (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Leeds Univ., 2 vols, 1954), i, pp. 80-83, 144.

39. Leeds City Archives, Ingilby Records, 3475-6.

40. This licence, to Robert Chantrell and John Aswell, was tougher than Proctor's in requiring them to use only one-fifth wood, the rest coal or peat (PRO, Signet Office Docquet Books, S.O. 3/3).

41. Spence, thesis, pp. 58-9.

42. L. Stone, *Family and Fortune* (Oxford, 1973), p. 192.

Crown. Its membership could hardly have been more favourable because it consisted of the Duchy's surveyor in the North, Edward Stanhope Esq., one of Cecil's political allies, and four of the earl's friends and servants, William Ingleby, Laurence Lister gent. of Midhope, Robert Oglethorpe gent. of Rawden, and his lawyer Richard Hutton of Goldsborough. They reported, first, that Fulwith water corn mill, burnt down six years before and with its dams and ditches partly destroyed, could be repaired to the benefit of the local people; that there was a convenient place in the Forest to erect another ironworks not far from the first and make a pond for it on wasteland, in fact a carr of alders; that ironstone was available in the wastes of the Forest, and that there was a place near to the forge on which to build a house for the person who would have oversight of the works. They had staked out three acres of land for that purpose. Granted 'the greate Costs chardges and expences' the earl had already incurred in building the forge, the rent he should pay, they suggested, should be £3 6s.8d. a year.

The Queen was not deceived. The lease to Cumberland, dated 6 February 1598 for a term of twenty-one years, permitted him to mine ore in the Forest and construct the second ironworks – a furnace – with pond and the houses, though at a hard price, for he was required to rebuild Fulwith Mill and restore its dams and watercourses. After taking into account the great cost of all the re-building, the Queen set the rent at £5 per annum. Cumberland had to complete all the works within two years and yield them up in good condition when his lease expired and fill in the pits he dug to ensure no danger to cattle grazing the Forest wastes, as in the Cliffords' own leases. Cumberland complied. The re-built water corn mill and the forge with their dams and watercourses, the clerk of the work's house, the furnace and other houses are clearly depicted on Robert Norton's 1611 map of Spofforth. His initial investment would, therefore, have been far greater than anticipated. The Duchy officials, who had neglected to repair Fulwith Mill, with bureaucratic insensitivity now claimed from its widow tenant all the rents unpaid whilst it had been derelict.<sup>43</sup>

Earl George's Crimble ironworks were of necessity of the indirect process. The ore dug within the Forest would have been smelted by water-driven bellows in the furnace and the cast or pig iron transported the mile or so down the beck to the water-powered hammer forge for conversion into wrought iron. Norton shows the furnace conventionally as a house, without its dam, not even on the beck, such details left out as with other buildings which lay well outside the bounds of Spofforth manor. However, the forge is clearly depicted straddling the Crimble, with undershot waterwheel, precisely located where the Duchy documents describe. Both forge and furnace are shown as unusually large constructions, stone walls and roofs, each with two chimneys which might be interpreted as denoting twin hearths, perhaps even finery and chafery as was customary in the advanced ironworks which Earl George would know about.

Unfortunately, few details have survived of the operations. George Goodgion, the clerk of the works, sold the bar iron for £9 or £10 a ton at Spofforth, paid most of the profits to the Skipton steward, the rest perhaps to other officers or into the earls' private purses. Only in 1606-7 did Stephen Taylor record a seemingly full year's receipts, with £200 profits from the iron sold and £11 6s.10d. more for wood. The briefer 1608 receipts are in line with these and, with other occasional entries, suggest continuous production.<sup>44</sup> Works similar to the Crimble were capable of producing 200

43. PRO, Duchy of Lancaster Special Commissions, DL44/584; Miscellaneous Books, DL42/37A, fols 31v-32v; Ministers Accounts, DL29/B486/7858. Norton's map is Petworth House Archives, 3429. The lease is summarised in PRO, Index 17596, fol. 226. A 1607 report confirms the re-building (YAS, DD56/B2).

44. Bolton MSS, Bks 226, fol. 92; 228, fol. 85; YAS, DD121/36A/2, fol. 81.



Plate 1. Furnace, Forge, Fulwith Mill, enclosure and houses, shown on Robert Norton's 1611 map of Spofforth. (Petworth House Archives, 3429)

tons of pig iron which converted into 130-150 tons of bar iron.<sup>45</sup> The recorded profits indicate half that quantity. However, with such incomplete and uncertain evidence, any conclusions would be mere speculation.

Earl George and the earl of Rutland were close friends. There is one recorded connection between their ironworks on the Crimble and at Rievaulx. Rutland bought 'cast hammers, anvills and diverse other rough yron' from Spofforth in 1605, perhaps after a re-equipment of the Crimble works.<sup>46</sup> Thomas Proctor's links with Earl George may have continued. The Grassington blacksmith, John Smith, was employed in 1602-3 to construct two bellows with thirty shillings' worth of iron 'which would have been used for Iron making which was Mr Procktors devise.'<sup>47</sup> Whether this was to continue Proctor's experiments or to start a second ironworks in Craven is an open question.

The records are silent on the impact of the Crimble works on the local economy and society. The iron produced would satisfy demand in the immediate area and perhaps, via Spofforth traders, much further afield. The construction, mining, felling, coaling, carting and smelting would add appreciably to employment in the Spofforth, Follifoot and Pannel district. No mention or allusion is to be found in, for example, parish registers, though the works fell within Pannel parish. Stephen Taylor offers little more. He used to visit the works from his home at Bickerton and on 15 June 1607 he paid a Bickerton man, John Rose, to make a pair of wheels for a wain to lead charcoal and other things at Spofforth. The workforce of skilled smelters, hammermen, woodsmen, charcoalburners, carriers, labourers and their families under George Goodgion's supervision otherwise has been virtually lost to history. Equally, the customers are unknown.<sup>48</sup>

Smelting on the Crimble ended soon after the Cliffords' lease of Spofforth woods lapsed in May 1611. Northumberland's new policy of direct management of his northern estates precluded any renewal of the lease. Neither he nor a Crown nominee appears to have taken over the ironworks when Earl Francis vacated them. Much later, a corn mill was built on the site of the forge to utilise the race, still visible to-day if difficult of access under the redundant railway viaduct. Goodgion sold the final ton of bar iron for £10 in 1612 and recovered moneys due him for wood sold at Spofforth Court Baron for the last time on 9 September 1611.<sup>49</sup> The earls' felling of timber for charcoal may have contributed to the shrinking of Northumberland's Spofforth reserves, though no more so than previously. All the 1,500 trees valued at £196 in 1577 in Horsehouse Wood had been cut down by 1602. Yet Christopher Saxton's maps of 1607 and 1608 and Norton's of 1611 show plentiful woodland still on Spofforth manor.<sup>50</sup> Thirteen years of renewed iron smelting had made little impact.

### III. LEAD

#### 1. CONONLEY

Countess Margaret was the first Clifford after the Dissolution to take an active part in Craven leadmining. By September 1589 she shared with Richard Cavendish gent. of

45. D. W. Crossley, 'The Management of a Sixteenth-Century Ironworks', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 19 (1966), p.273. Operations like the Crimble works' are described by H. R. Schubert, *History of the British Iron and Steel Industry* (1957), pp. 158-62, 203-5.

46. Schubert, 1957, p. 379.

47. Bolton MSS, Bk 226, fol. 268v.

48. *Ibid.*, fols 103v, 212v. An ironworks of the Wealden type employed a clerk of the works; a founder and a filler at the furnace; a hammerman and finer for each hearth at the forge, besides the many outworkers (Henry Cleere and David Crossley, *The Iron Industry of the Weald* (Leicester, 1985), p.142).

49. Bolton MSS, Sundry I. 15, fol. 3; YAS, MS 880, fols 288, 369.

50. Fisher, thesis, p. 83. The Saxton maps of Spofforth are Alnwick Castle, Syon House MSS, X.II.6, 34, nos 1,3.

London a twenty-one years' lease, granted them by Henry Malham Esq. of Elslack, of all the mines of lead and lead ore and other metals on the hundred-acre Gib Moor in Glusburn, at a yearly rent of £3 6s.8d. Glusburn, where Earl George had some property, adjoined his manor of Cononley.<sup>51</sup> The veins of ore crossed Gib Hill, which lies athwart the townships. There are many bell pits on Gib dating from the sixteenth century, pick-axes only used, some of the workings going down to a depth of twenty-four fathoms. The ore would be smelted by the 'bole-hill' method.<sup>52</sup> The countess and Cavendish thus took over and possibly extended the area of traditional leadmining, once part-owned by Bolton Priory. Unfortunately, the only hint of their operations is a mundane one. Four hogsheads from Skipton Castle were delivered to Cavendish and taken by him to Gib on 8 September 1590.

Although Earl George must have known and approved this joint venture, he may not have been even a passive partner. Cavendish, it is true, was on familiar terms with him, but was much more a friend of the countess, as her letters show. He was a politician, mathematician and man of letters, 'beloved of great and honourable peers', as she affirmed in the inscription on the monument she erected to him in Hornsey Church, Middlesex in 1601. He sat for Denbigh in the 1572 and 1584 Parliaments as a nominee of his patron, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester.

His death, the estrangement of the countess from her husband and her subsequent residence in the south probably ended her role in the mining.<sup>53</sup> Usually the lease would have been assigned. There was no cessation in mining, though documentary evidence is as slight for the early seventeenth century as previously. A draft lease of the earl of Cork in 1650 mentions, if imprecisely, lead mines and coal pits in Carleton, Glusburn, Bradley and Cowling.<sup>54</sup> The Glusburn owners, mostly Garforths, granted mining rights in 1666. In the early eighteenth century Richard, third earl of Burlington had a steward at his Cononley mines. However, the great exploitation of the Gib veins did not begin until the eighteen-twenties, when the dukes of Devonshire and the Garforths of Steeton were the respective owners of the Cononley and Glusburn mineral rights.<sup>55</sup>

## 2. GRASSINGTON

Grassington, with its lead-rich ore, was to become the most important and permanent of all the Cliffords' industrial projects. Until 1607 the veins of the Lea Green pastures north-west of the town were being worked by six to eight local families, mostly cottagers. The ore was smelted on site by the bole-hill method, with timber for fuel and corves from Grass Wood, Earl George's demesne deer reserve. The levy the miners paid brought him on average £13 6s.8d. a year profit. Production would be sufficient for local needs. Bell-pits and bole-hills are surviving visual evidence of this well-established if seasonal activity.<sup>56</sup> Grassington lay within the parish of Linton, a manor Earl Francis purchased along with another adjoining manor, Threshfield, in 1606, all of which were eventually to be involved in the development of the Grassington deposits.

The scene for this was set by Earl George's 1604 fee farm grants of all thirty-two

51. *Collectanea Topographia et Genealogia*, vol. VI (1840), pp. 331-2.

52. Raistrick, 1973, pp. 151-3.

53. G. C. Williamson, *George, Third Earl of Cumberland* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 293, 300, 310; P. W. Hasler, *The House of Commons 1558-1603* (3 vols, 1981), i. pp. 566-7.

54. Londesborough Papers, I (i) 43.

55. M. C. Gill, *The Yorkshire and Lancashire Lead Mines* (Northern Mine Research Society, Sheffield, n.d.) pp. 6-8. For smelting techniques, see R. T. Clough, *The Lead Smelting Mills of the Yorkshire Dales and Northern Pennines* (2nd edn, Keighley, 1980), chapter 3.

56. YAS, DD121/32/41; Raistrick, 1973, pp. 104-5.

messuages in the township. By these, he relinquished his mineral rights over the town fields, arable and meadow, but retained them, with the hunting rights also, on the stinted and unstinted pastures and commons of Grassington Moor, with liberty of access, mining and converting the ore. The grants created three distinct rights on the Moor – the minerals under the soil and hunting over being in the earl's hands, whereas the farmers held the third, that is the freehold and soil with the herbage and rights of turbary, with access for themselves and their animals. The potential conflict of interest between extractive industry and pastoral farming became real during the eighteenth century as the spread of mining caused friction and then litigation.<sup>57</sup>

Almost certainly Earl George intended to expand the Grassington mining and may have taken the first step before his death in October 1605. However, most of the credit is due to Francis since he was associated with the venture from the first and owned the mines for the next thirty-six years. In effect, Francis took over direct management, first by erecting a water-powered smelt mill on the Wharfe-side, then by employing Derbyshire miners who helped open up the deposits on the Low Moor at Yarnbury and on Sweet Side above the Lea Green workings. In doing this, he asserted his mineral rights over the Honour of Skipton and created what during the sixteen-thirties became the mineral liberty of Grassington-cum-membris, which his successors greatly enlarged. This was one of only four mineral liberties, regulated by ancient laws and customs, which survived the stricter definition of the Crown's rights during Elizabeth I's reign, the others being the Stanneries, Mendips, and Derbyshire.<sup>58</sup>

The smelt mill known as the Low Mill was built between Autumn 1605 and Spring 1606 next to the corn mill, on land which Earl George must have reserved from the 1604 grants. The earls' work force would construct the mill, with expert advice. A similar smelt-mill was built about that time three miles away on Greenhow Hill by Sir Stephen Proctor, son of the patentee,<sup>59</sup> so the same skilled smelter may have been responsible for both, marking a new departure in these mining fields.

The Low Mill was of the recently introduced 'ore-hearth' design. Water from the corn mill's dam, fed by a fast-flowing stream from Brow Well, also drove the smelt mill's waterwheel which worked the bellows for its twin hearths. As later tests proved, it was a very efficient mill. It may not have been complete or capable of full production for two years. Six of Earl Francis's wrights repaired the waterwheel in May and June 1606 and in August 1607 Peter and Henry Stott spent over a fortnight walling the chimney. The fuel used initially would be chopwood from Grass Wood.

What little evidence survives for these early years suggests an immediate increased production of refined lead made possible by the Low Mill's far greater smelting capacity. Stephen Taylor sold just over two tons of lead (at about £9 a ton) for £19 15s.5d. between 15 March and 16 May 1606, comparable to the known output in 1612. In March 1607 Earl Francis enlisted the help of the Halifax plumber John Mawde, whom he employed to repair his houses, to search for chapmen to buy his lead in that and subsequent years.

From the first the earl retained some lead for his own use and also sold to customers direct. In June and July 1607 half a fother/ton and then four pigs (a pig was c. 170 lb.) were carried to Barden to repair the Tower. In September George Goodgion, the clerk at the Crimble, sold lead for him at the great northern lead entrepot, York. The interest in the new operations is shown by the visit of Earl George's old friend Lord Chief Justice Sir John Popham, who was to die later in 1607. Halting at Skipton Castle on circuit, he was taken on 13 March with John Tenant gent. of Conistone by Stephen

57. YAS, DD121/29/23.

58. A. Raistrick and B. Jennings, *A History of Lead Mining in the Pennines* (2nd edn, 1966), p. 110.

59. Raistrick, 1973, p. 47.

Taylor to view the workings.<sup>60</sup>

Whitaker's assertion that Earl George introduced Derbyshire miners to open up the Moor is incorrect. The local men had all the experience required, except perhaps to operate the smelt mill which was within the competence of a blacksmith. Smelting, in any case, was in the early years intermittent. Robert Smith, the Grassington blacksmith, Earl Francis' officer in the manor, had charge of both the mining and smelting at this stage and also of Grass Wood. The first Derbyshire incomers arrived in April 1607. They were put up locally by Stephen Taylor. Most likely they were free-lance miners attracted to the new enterprise, or sent by the earl's former Derbyshire officers the Eyres and Columbells, who had mining interests, and they came on a year's contract.<sup>61</sup>

Their numbers slowly increased. In 1612 (see Table I), eight of the eleven miners were local men – Wrathoo, Maugham, Robinson, Ibotson, Horner, Fletcher, Leyland and Wilkinson – and three were incomers, Pollard, Maxwell and Adcock. A year later, Pollard and Maxwell had left and Heslowe, Stowell, Trigoono and Foxe had replaced them. Leyland and Wilkinson did not mine that year, but two other Grassington men, Ragg and Faldshey, came in to partner Adcock.<sup>62</sup> Most of the local men were cottagers or sons of farmers, though Robinson had previously been a messuage holder until lack of cash forced him to assign his tenancy.<sup>63</sup> When Stephen Taylor visited the workings in March 1613 there were five 'coupaie' or partnerships of miners, whose membership is discernible in the Table. Each partnership, with families and labourers, would work a meer, which in Grassington was twenty-one yards in length, following veins identifiable to-day by the lines of bell pits. Taylor rewarded each coupaie with 6*d.* and Robert Smith with 4*d.* The first incoming family known to have settled in the township were the Dancers, Thomas, Richard and John, who may have come from the Gisburn area by 1618, rather than Derbyshire.<sup>64</sup>

The accounts of William Taylor, supervisor and clerk of the mines and lead works, are extant for two years, from 18 December 1611 to 13 December 1613. He received in the first year 18 tons 16 cwt. 1 st. 11 lb. of refined lead, in the second 18 tons 19 cwt. 1 st. 12 lb. Smelting took place on ten days spread over seven months in 1612 and rather more frequently in 1613, on sixteen days over ten months. The gaps in smelting, from mid-June to mid-September 1612 and August to mid-November 1613, indicate that mining was still a by-employment along with small-holding and general labouring, especially at lambing, shearing and harvest time. However, stock-piling enough ore for a smelting was a slow business and Taylor appears to have found all the partnerships at work in March 1613.<sup>65</sup>

Earl Francis, as entrepreneur, employed the miners, paid the clerk's and all the workmen's wages and met the expense of getting and smelting the ore, cutting, drying and leading the wood, upkeep of the mill and the hearths and repairs to the corves, sieve and implements. The timber for the miners' sheds and shorings came from Grass Wood. The mill's fuel was wood chopped and dried in the earl's kilns and carried from, besides Grass Wood, his other parks several miles away, for instance the Old Park at Skipton. The total costs of £109 1*l.* in 1612 and £115 7*s.* 11*d.* in 1613 included £3 6*s.* 8*d.*

60. YAS, DD121/36A/2, fols 106-7, 111v, 112v; Bolton MSS, Bk 226, fols 92, 171v, 269v, 276v-277.

61. Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 560; YAS, DD121/36A12 fol. 216v. For Eyre and Columbell, see Donald, 1961, pp. 156-7.

62. Chatsworth, Unlisted MSS, Bailiffs Accounts 1612, 1613.

63. YAS, DD121/29/23.

64. YAS, DD121/36A/4, fol. 279.

65. See Table I and n. 62 above. In February 1610 the kiln wood from the Old Park at Skipton had to be burnt in the castle because there was no ore to smelt (Bolton MSS, Bk 230, fol. 182).

Table I Grassington Lead Smeltings 1612-1613\*

Date	Delivered By	Tons	Cwt.	St.	lb.
1612					
January				nil	
Feb. 7	Richard Wrathoo & Robert Maugham	1	3	5	3
	James Robinson & William Ibotson	2	12	3	11
March				nil	
April 17	John Maxwell & Thomas Adcock	3	8	0	0
	Robinson & Ibotson	1	14	4	10
29	Robinson & Ibotson	0	7	4	1
	William Pollard & Robinson	0	15	4	9
May 22	Wrathoo & Maugham	1	2	5	4
	Henry Horner	0	3	3	4
	28 Maxwell & Adcock	1	2	0	3
	John Leyland & Miles Wilkinson	0	5	5	13
June 19	Maxwell & Ibotson	0	2	6	2
	Ibotson	0	2	4	11
July				nil	
August				nil	
Sept. 12	John Fletcher	0	6	0	0
Oct. 7	Fletcher	0	6	0	9
	10 Adcock & Ibotson	2	1	4	0
	Wrathoo & Maugham	2	3	0	0
	19 Adcock & Robinson	0	16	1	10
November				nil	
Dec. 19	Robinson & Horner	2	0	3	10
1613					
Jan. 16	Robinson & Horner	0	6	4	0
	Robinson	0	3	1	6
	Horner	0	3	2	0
Feb. 27	Adcock, George Ragg & Hugh Faldshey	0	14	4	2
March 18	Robinson & Horner	1	13	2	0
April 7	Arthur Foxe & others	1	16	6	0
	Foxe & others	0	9	1	3
May 15	Faldshey & Ragg	1	0	6	4
	Wrathoo & Maugham	3	2	7	12
	20,21 George Heslowe & Robinson	0	17	7	4
	21,29 Robinson & Horner	0	14	1	13
June 5	Fletcher	0	13	2	6
	Ragg & Ibotson	0	0	12	6
	10 John Stowell & William Trigoono	0	18	4	2
	12 Ragg	0	11	0	7
July 24	Robinson, Stowell & Heslowe	0	18	1	6
	Robinson & Stowell	0	8	3	4
August				nil	
September				nil	
October				nil	
Nov. 27	Wrathoo & Maugham	1	0	0	0
Dec. 10	Fletcher & others	1	0	9	11

\* Source. See note 62.

for William Taylor's fees, £2 for the tithes of the mill and mines to Richard Burton, the rector of Linton, and 6s.8d. for tithes to the rector of Kettlewell, first proof of how far beyond Sweet Side the veins of lead had been traced and were now being worked.

Earl Francis took what lead he needed for his own use and received a satisfactory profit from selling the rest. In 1612, 13 cwt. 5 st. 8 lb. went to repair his houses or to his keepers for shot; in 1613, 5 st. 5 lb. His cash receipts from selling the lead at between £9 and £9 10s. a ton brought about £57 profit in 1612, and in 1613, with the lead fetching closer to £10 a ton, £75.<sup>66</sup> Stephen Taylor's engrossed accounts reveal that during the next five years to 1618, although production of refined lead was maintained and even increased, the costs rose even higher, so the earl's profit fell. The 1614 account, covering one and a half years but two winters, records a profit of £54 13s.5½d. above the £157 10s.1½d. costs. About twenty-one tons were sold, apart from the 1 cwt. 2 st. 2½ lb. the earl took for himself. In 1615, his net profit was down to 6s.7d. out of gross receipts of £189 15s.4d., about nineteen tons sold. This marked decline in profit was because he had disbursed large sums on 'extraordinary workes in making search' for new sources of ore.

This continuing investment was worthwhile in that it brought an increase in production of almost fifty per cent during the next two years, yet it was matched by even higher costs, so that in this unusually difficult period financially Earl Francis suffered unwelcome losses on his Grassington operations. In 1616 his receipts were £328 14s.5d. from about thirty tons sold, against charges of £347 0s.10d.; in 1617, £296 8s.7d. from twenty-nine tons, with charges of £315 12s.4d. This rising capital outlay was the result of difficulties normally experienced in such undertakings – the exhaustion of the long-worked lower veins, the search for new veins and the extension of the effort after the initial investment had proved encouraging. From 1613 Cockbur at the far edge of Yarnbury near Hebden Beck was the chief area of search, another milestone in the exploitation of the Moor deposits.<sup>67</sup>

However, the losses were only one factor in persuading the earl to give up direct management, as he had already with coalmining. With his acquisition of the Westmorland estates on the settlement of the great inheritance dispute in March 1617, he had the opportunity to begin mining in that county. For this he would require ready money, diverting funds from Grassington. The new arrangement he now made with the miners is only known from the comments of Roger Kenyon who brought two horse loads of ore (4 cwt. 3 st. 10 lb.) from Charles I's leadmines at Thieveley, near Cliviger in Lancashire for a trial smelting at the Low Mill in April 1630. He incidentally affirmed the Low Mill's efficiency and the high lead content of the Grassington deposits. Describing the working terms existing through the sixteenth-twenties, Kenyon wrote:

I understand that his Lordship findeth all wood to timber the groves, and for turnes, cornes etc.; and prepaire and keepe in repaire the Smeltinge-houses, Bellows and Dammes, and findes chopp-wood or woodes for smeltinge and kilnes and fyre to dry the same with. And in lieu of theis and of his Myne (which is a rich one for lead) his Lordship hath in smelted lead a third part, throughout all which bargaine in my iudgment (and as I heare from his officers the tymber and other charge reprised) leaveth unto him a very small gain.<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, Earl Francis may have made little profit after 1618, judging by the abbreviated entries in William Taylor's receiver-general's accounts, but he had at least

66. Bolton MSS, Sundry I. 15, fol. 3v; Curry L28/33 no.32; Londesborough Papers, M14, fols 3-4.

67. Bolton MSS, Bks 127, fol. 3; 129, fol. 3; 132, fols 5, 11v.

68. *The Thieveley Lead Mines 1629-1635*, ed. R. Sharpe France (Lancashire & Cheshire Record Society, vol. CII, Preston, 1951 for 1947), pp. 47, 64, 95.

ended his losses and got enough free lead to repair his buildings.<sup>69</sup> Whether intended or not, the new terms gave the miners the incentive of profit and the security of longer tenure which brought about a notable expansion of production, the miners recouping their own searches and digging with the profits from their sale of two-thirds of the refined lead. As Roger Kenyon was to find, 'if the Myners have not a share in the oare more or lesse theire worke for the most part wilbe carelessly performed, let what eyes looke upon them that will.' More Derbyshire men moved north to work at the earl's mines. William Badger, 'a good smelter', first came to Grassington, then was one of those attracted by the prospect at Thieveley and returned when the King's mines failed. Gervase Gaskin, a skilled miner, shared in the 'for ever' lease of the Grassington smithy which Robert and John Smith took from Earl Francis on 31 March 1627. He was at Thieveley in 1630 in a partnership which included his wife as a drawer and washer. They, too, returned to Grassington and were still there in 1642. Almost certainly it was in these years that the Derbyshire system of 'lot and cope' was introduced as the miners managed their own affairs and sold their own lead.<sup>70</sup>

Earl Francis reaped the benefit of the expansion when he negotiated a new and more favourable bargain from April 1630. The miners now became responsible for most of the working costs. The earl paid for the ore to be carried to the mills and smelted. He provided the timber and carried it to the workings – sinking timber for which the miners paid him 4*d.* a dozen and also timber for their coes or small sheds, corfe wood for buckets and other containers, stoprice to hold back earth, posting timber, turnstoops, and pick shafts. These costs did cut down his profits but far less than previously.<sup>71</sup> He also contributed his share of the heavy investment in drainage works on Cockbur, £66 13*s.*4*d.*

The rise in his net profits from his third part of the lead was spectacular, to £232 4*s.*11*d.* in 1630 and a minimum of £150 a year during the next decade. He usually took at least a quarter of his profits in refined lead – in 1631, £42 9*s.* worth out of £153 14*s.*5*d.*; in 1632, £70 17*s.*6*d.* out of £237 13*s.*11*d.*; in 1633, £84 2*s.*6*d.* from peak receipts of £321 13*s.*1*d.* His profits in 1634 and 1635 came to £178 7*s.* and £138 12*s.*5*d.* respectively. The details for the next two years are incomplete. From 14 April 1638 to 8 April 1639 the profit was £212 18*s.*2*d.* and it remained about that level to 1641 when it was £198 7*s.*4*d.* Peter Pulman, the barmaster, was now sending the cash direct to Clifford who was long absent from Skipton with Robotham. Production was unlikely to have changed much until late 1642.<sup>72</sup>

The Grassington mines by the late sixteen-thirties were well-established, regulated and highly profitable. It would have been particularly irksome, therefore, for Earl Francis at this time to suffer outside interference. The problem, as Lord Clifford complained, when enlisting his brother-in-law Wentworth's aid, was 'Sir Hen[ry] Marun's instruments', who were daily molesting the workmen. These were 'a company of proulinge Pattentees for Mines Royal' who held the monopoly granted under the Tudors for silver-bearing ore. Clifford looked to Wentworth and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to help free him from these rapacious meddlers and he was successful.<sup>73</sup> If the establishment of the liberty of Grassington-cum-membris has to be precisely dated,

69. Bolton MSS, Bks 131, fol 4v; 132, fol 3v.

70. *Thieveley Lead Mines*, pp. 87, 92, 96, 98, 107; Curry L/75/2.

71. Bolton MSS, Sundry, II, 35; clauses 14 and 15 in the 1642 Laws printed in Raistrick and Jennings, 1966, pp. 111-13.

72. Londesborough Papers, I (i) 64; Bolton MSS, Bks 135, 137-9; 175, fols 18-19; 177, fols 39-40; YAS, DD121/36B/2, fol. 66; Chatsworth, Unlisted MS, Craven Rental 1641.

73. Sheffield City Library, Strafford Papers 16C, 174, 183.

it is with this assertion of the earl's rights against the intrusion of aggressive Crown patentees.

The profitability, and practicality, led Earl Francis to invest further by erecting a second smelt-mill, the High Mill, by Coalgrove Beck on the High Moor itself. The location had advantages. It was close to the 'maine greate work' at Cockbur, at the far north east of the Low Moor. If, as seems possible, some of the fuel used was peat, the farmers had an abundance there to sell. Fumes from the smelting would quickly disperse and waste be easily disposed of. Only refined lead would need to be carried down to Grassington, or direct across the moors to market.

Robert Robotham first mentions the new mill in August 1637. For a brief period he entered the earl's receipts from his share of the smelted lead from the mills separately, so that for the three months October to December 1637 they can be compared.

Month ending:	Low Mill	High Mill
8 October	£6 16s.8d.	£5 13s.0d.
6 November	£6 16s.0d.	£5 13s.4d.
3 December	£3 10s.8d.	£4 16s.0d.

The output from both mills roughly equalled that of the Low Mill previously. Greater convenience and continued production if either mill required reparation were therefore factors in the earl's decision to erect the High Mill. The notoriously rapid flooding of the Wharfe had always endangered the Low Mill. Indeed, in January 1640 William Badger was paid £3 'for makinge water workes upon Wharfe to preserve the milne.' Ultimately, the more extended working of the High Moor veins enabled both smelt mills to work to full capacity. The High Mill thus marked a new phase in the exploitation of the Moor deposits, pointing the direction of later developments after the Civil Wars.<sup>74</sup>

Robotham recorded the earl's monthly receipts from the barmaster for almost two years, from 14 April 1638 to 9 February 1640, and the income from grove timber granted the miners at cost for them to work, as the 1642 laws confirmed.<sup>75</sup>

Year	Lead Profits	Timber Sold
1638		
14 April - 18 May	£16 12s.2d.	
18 May - 3 June	£16 18s.6d.	£ 1 2s.0d.
3 June - 8 July	£16 15s.0d.	£ 0 13s.0d.
8 July - 29 July	£12 0s.0d.	
29 July - 27 August	£15 18s.8d.	£ 0 11s.8d.
17 Aug. - 23 September	£19 18s.8d.	
23 Sept. - 21 October	£18 8s.0d.	£ 1 6s.8d.
21 Oct. - 18 November	£23 18s.8d.	
18 Nov. - 16 December	£18 13s.4d.	£ 1 16s.4d.
1639		
16 Dec. - 11 Feb. (2 months)	£20 5s.4d.	
11 Feb. - 10 March	£19 2s.8d.	
10 March - 8 April	£14 8s.0d.	
8 April - 5 May	£15 8s.0d.	£ 1 6s.8d.
5 May - 2 June	£15 18s.8d.	
2 June - 30 June	£15 4s.0d.	£ 1 10s.8d.
1 July - 28 July	£20 18s.8d.	£ 0 17s.4d.

74. Bolton MSS, Bks 176, fol. 20; 179, fol. 191v; Raistrick, 1973, pp. 92, 107-8.

75. Bolton MSS, Bk 177, fols 38-40.

28 July - 24 August	£18 13s.8d.	
24 Aug. - 20 September	£15 9s.4d.	
20 Sept. - 20 October	£19 18s.8d.	£ 0 14s.8d.
20 Oct. - 17 November	£16 12s.0d.	£ 3 1s.4d.
17 Nov. - 14 December	£ 9 6s.8d.	
1640		
18 Dec. - 12 January	£ 4 0s.0d.	
12 Jan. - 9 February	£ 7 0s.0d.	£ 1 6s.8d.

Production was therefore being maintained throughout these two years, with some falling off though no cessation during the deep winter and Easter months and at a lower level in the harvest weeks of 1638 but not 1639. If leadmining was not a completely full-time occupation for all the men and their womenfolk in the partnerships, it was very nearly so and as the 1642 laws were to emphasise now far more than a by-employment. Under their shades the miners had some protection from the wintry storms on the forbidding Pennine moors; even so, the 1638-39 output is noteworthy.

With hostilities imminent, the relations between Earl Henry as lord of the liberty, his barmaster Peter Pulman gent., the deputy barmaster George Smith and the miners were formalised at the barmoot court held on 19 May 1642. This was not the first court held; merely the occasion for setting down laws which had informally operated with the earls' approval probably since the sixteen-twenties. The twenty laws agreed owed much to the laws and customs of the Derbyshire lead miners and to much older traditions stemming from ancient Rome. They throw much light, too, on working practices, the barmoot court and its judicial procedures. The court's extra-territorial jurisdiction for regulating operations and dealing with transgressions and disputes was a unique development within the Clifford domains.

The laws recognized the earl's position as chief lord of the manor and the mines, safeguarded his interests and defined his responsibilities, the latter normal for a smelt-mill owner. He was to provide the working vat at each mill, fill the pan with lead when a new workstone was laid and sell the miners wood for their various needs. His barmaster was to choose one of the two smelters (the miners the other) and to keep true weights at the mill. All other operations were in the miners' hands and subject to the laws and the barmoot court.

The Derbyshire element was now predominant. Of the twenty-two miners and smelters named in 1642, two-thirds were incomers. Only one, Thomas Humphrey, had leased a cottage. The others would live in outhouses purpose-built onto the townsmen's homes, or in divided cottages. The Grassington hearth tax returns show that in 1672 three of the incomers named in 1642 – Marshall, Wilde, and Roberts – were still living in the township. Almost all the Grassington miners had purchased fee farms of their cottages by 1632, a sign of greater earnings and independence as well as Earl Francis's attitude to them. Clauses nine and ten of the 1642 laws point to the change to full-time employment, a miner's long absence being a finable offence, and to the prominent role of their womenfolk. The total numbers directly employed at Grassington would exceed fifty; with, in addition, children, labourers, blacksmiths and carriers.

The mining created much extra work for blacksmiths, forging and repairing implements. The Smith family did particularly well. Three generations, Robert, John and George, had charge or were deputy barmasters besides being bailiffs and farmers. Their original smithy survives at the bottom of the High Street. John Howgate is first mentioned as a blacksmith in 1615. Stephen Browne was allowed by Earl Francis in 1622 to take a piece of waste on which to erect a smithy, but where he still owned such

land is uncertain. Leadmining was notoriously dangerous and Grassington Moor claimed two victims in February 1639 when, as the Linton parish register records, Edward Buxton of Skythorns in Threshfield and Tebie Wilde, an incomer, died ‘by the dampe in a grove.’<sup>76</sup>

For two periods, 1612-18 and 1630-41 (except for three years), it is possible to estimate how much lead was smelted at the Grassington mills. In the first, lead was sold for between £9 10s. and £10 a fother/ton; in the second, Robotham paid £8 a ton for what the earl required. Since Earl Francis still met some of the working costs, as described above, both his profits and the production figures derived from them may be underestimated.

I. 1612-1618

Year	Receipts (to nearest £)	Production (approx. fother/ton)
1612	£ 211	19
1613	£ 194	19
1614*	£ 202	20
1615	£ 190	19
1616	£ 329	32
1617	£ 296	29
1618	£ 135	14

\* one and a half years.

II. 1630-1641

Year	Receipts (to nearest £)	Lead Equivalent (fother/ton)	Production (f/t)
1630	£ 232	29	87
1631	£ 153	19	57
1632	£ 238	29	89
1633	£ 322	40	120
1634	£ 178	22	66
1635	£ 139	17	53
1636	—	—	—
1637	—	—	—
1638-39	£ 213	26	80
1639-40*	£ 158	19	59
1640	—	—	—
1641	£ 198	24	73

\* eleven months.

Earl Francis was the biggest local customer for lead in Craven and even in the years when he made little or no profit his Grassington works supplied his needs, thus saving the expense of buying elsewhere and in quantities which may not have been readily available. Indeed, the use of his smelted lead between 1607 and 1610 suggests this was as important a consideration as profit. As already mentioned, in June and July 1607 half a fother and then four pigs were sent to Barden Tower to cast for mending the leads and the roof. In March and April 1609 the leads of Skipton Castle, damaged

76. Raistrick and Jennings, 1966, pp. 111-14; Curry L/28/33 no. 22; L/75/2; Chatsworth, Unlisted MS, Book of Leases; PRO, Exchequer, E179/210/418 (hearth tax returns); *The Register of the Parish Church of Linton in Craven*, ed. F. A. C. Share, Part I 1562-1779 (Leeds, 1900), pp. 73, 77-80.

when a chimney was blown down, the roof over the dining chamber and the conduits were renewed with new and old lead cast by John Mawde and his man. In June, four and a half hundredweights were sent to Londesborough to repair the house. There were repairs costing £2 to the leads of Bolton Priory church in 1609.<sup>77</sup>

Thereafter periodic renovation took place at Londesborough, Bolton and the castle, some instances of which may be given. In April 1612 three horse-loads were carried to Londesborough, where Mawde and his two men spent twenty-eight days making a new conduit pipe to carry water from the churchyard side to the laundry. In 1613 Lancelot Kippax's tanpits at Bolton were relined with the earl's lead, the old lead being sold for more than £10, and again perhaps in 1632 when a ton was sent from Grassington. The lead fall-pipes at the castle's gatehouse and conduit court were replaced in Lord Clifford's 1628 re-structuring. During the sixteen-thirties as has been seen, the earl took a large part of his profits in lead. Included in this were three tons carried to Londesborough in 1632; two tons for the castle's chapel in May 1638 at Lady Clifford's direction; and three tons in September 1638 despatched to Carlisle Castle, then being hurriedly restored by Lord Clifford, its governor, because of the Scottish troubles.<sup>78</sup>

The Grassington lead was useful as currency, both for purchases and to pay debts. Earl Francis sold lead in York to provide 'necessaries for the house', as for instance in September 1607. He repaid with six tons of lead in November 1632 a debt owed to Mr John Mason. Robert Robotham in February 1641 repaid in lead the £54 he received from Alderman Thompson of York by a bill of exchange from a London merchant. The biggest single sale for living expenses was to Alderman William Beckwith of York, twelve and a half tons for £100 in the winter of 1642-43 when Earl Henry was in the city with the royalist garrison and short of money. There would have been a ready market, and no doubt profit, for this consignment in the earl of Newcastle's army.<sup>79</sup>

Until 1618 Earl Francis disposed of most of his lead by direct sales to chapmen, tradesmen and other customers. The 1612 and 1613 accounts, with some details for later years, give an idea of the wide demand. Amongst the earl's gentry customers, Sir William Bambrough bought two tons via John Mawde for £19 on 31 March 1612 for the fine hall at Howsham in the East Riding he was then building. Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton purchased over three tons in 1613. The earl despatched Thomas Brogden to Walton, another Fairfax family seat, with five fothers in April 1618. Robert Bindlose Esq., who had acquired Eshton Hall from Earl George, Roger Bradshaw Esq., and Henry Mercer gent. all took small quantities and Thomas Snydale gent. over two tons. Mr Green, the earl's chaplain and vicar at Londesborough, paid 20s. for about two hundredweights in 1630, one of a number in that area who purchased small amounts.

Local tradesmen and tenants were the most numerous and amongst the biggest customers, as Table II shows. John Mawde took over three tons for his own business in 1612. Skipton tradesmen bought in quantity, such as Robert Thompson over four tons and William Towneley more than two during 1612 and 1613. Twenty other Craven men purchased amounts varying from as little as two stones to well over a ton. Tradesmen from further afield included John Hindley, the Wigan brass man, who took six tons, Roger Oddy of Leeds, two Bradford men and some from Colne. Churchwardens at Arncliffe, Rylstone, Addingham and Otley renewed their churches' fabric with the earl's lead. Three big customers, Hugh Marston, John Haworth and John Harvy, may have been chapmen, or York and Lancashire men; names not easily

77. Bolton MSS, Bk 228, fols 111-13, 198.

78. Bolton MSS, Bks 94, fols 100-101, 105, 151v; 177, fols 38, 105-6, 108-9, 191; YAS, DD121/36A/4, fols 74v, 206v, 246; 36B/2, fol. 100.

79. YAS, DD121/36A/3, fol. 179v; 36B/2, fol. 83; Bolton MSS, Bks 99, fol. 214v; 179, fol. 18.

Table II      Lead Sales and Deliveries 1612-1613\*

Date 1612	Purchasers	Location / Other details	Tons	Cwt.	St.	lb.
January	3 Hugh Marston		1	0	0	0
	4 Earl Francis	To keepers for shot	0	0	1	0
Feb.	10 Earl Francis	For house repairs	0	5	6	7
	17 Thomas Snyder gent.	Halifax	1	0	0	0
March	5 John Mawde	Halifax, plumber	2	0	0	0
	John Stainforth & others	Litton	0	3	2	13
	13 Sir William Bambrough	Howsham Hall, East Riding	2	0	0	0
April	4 Earl Francis	For Lonsborough House	0	5	0	10
	15 Richard Longley		0	8	0	0
	John Hindley	Wigan, brassman	1	1	4	13
	27 Earl Francis	For Lonsborough House	0	1	4	0
	29 William Towneley	Skipton	1	3	4	10
	James Harvy		1	2	1	3
May	13 John Haworth		0	7	2	7
	18 John Haworth		0	3	4	5
June	17 John Haworth		0	4	3	7
	John Haworth	At 15 <i>d.</i> per stone	0	0	6	0
	Simon Dawson	Gargrave	0	0	7	13
	Robert Bindlose Esq.	Eshton Hall	0	1	4	10
	25 John Haworth		0	3	6	0
	30 John Hindley		1	0	1	2
July	1 Adam Bentham		1	0	0	0
	7 Earl Francis	For Barden Tower	0	0	7	0
	11 Simon Dawson		0	0	7	13
August	1,3 Stephen Becroft		0	9	6	0
	3 John Cowper		0	1	0	0
	Arncliffe churchwardens		1	0	0	0
	Henry Mercer gent.	West Derby, Lancashire	0	9	7	2
	4 John Haworth		1	0	5	3
	22 Roger Bradshaw Esq.	Haigh, Lancashire	0	6	0	9
	William Towneley		0	0	3	0
	27 Roland Tatham	Eshton	0	0	2	7
	29 Hugh Marston		0	1	7	7
	31 Simon Dawson		0	1	0	4
Sept.	1 Samuel Holdsworth		0	1	6	4½
	3 Hugh Marston		0	3	4	2
	15 John Hindley		1	0	7	0
	24 Thomas Winterburne	Hazlewood	0	0	3	11
	26 Thomas Winterburne		0	5	7	6
Oct.	14 Hugh Marston		1	0	0	0
	Addingham Church		0	1	2	0
	16 Thomas Snyder gent.		1	0	1	0
	30 Earl Francis	To keepers for shot	0	0	1	0
	John Hindley		1	0	3	5
November	13 Peter Bolland	Skipton	0	0	5	0
	John Mawde		1	0	3	1
	14 Earl Francis	To keepers for shot	0	0	1	0
Dec.	2 Earl Francis	To keepers for shot	0	0	0	5
	Hugh Marston		0	6	2	0
	16 Hugh Marston		0	2	6	9
	30 Hugh Marston	At £9 10 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> a fother	0	3	3	2
	31 Robert Hall	? Long Preston	0	0	7	10

1613

Jan.	14	Hugh Marston		1	0	0	0
	18	John Cowper		0	1	7	9
	20	Robert Bryans		0	0	0	8
	21	William Towneley		0	1	0	10
Feb.	17	Certain strangers	At Grassington by R. Smith	0	1	1	2
	26	John Hindley		1	0	7	0
March	18	William Dewhurst		0	10	3	0
		William Towneley		0	1	3	11
	27	Certain strangers	Colne	0	1	1	0
		John Hindley		0	13	7	8
		John Harvy		1	0	0	0
April	19	Roger Oddy	Leeds, at 16 <i>d.</i> per stone	0	4	7	13
May	6	John Hindley		0	9	6	0
	17	Rylstone churchwardens		0	9	6	0
	21	John Haworth		0	3	4	7
	22	Stephen Becroft		1	0	1	0
		John Hindley		0	2	0	0
	25	Two Bradford men		0	2	2	7
	27	Sir Thomas Fairfax	Denton Hall, at £10 a ton	3	0	5	0
	28	Stephen Becroft		0	0	1	7
June	9	Reginald Haworth		0	5	4	0
	10	John Haworth & others		0	9	6	0
	17	John Haworth		0	3	4	8
July	7	Otley churchwardens		1	0	0	0
	30						
August	7	Robert Thompson	Skipton	4	10	4	9
September						nil	
October						nil	
November						nil	
Dec.	2	William Towneley		1	0	0	0
		Earl Francis	For Skipton Castle	0	0	5	0
		Earl Francis	To keepers for shot	0	0	0	5

\* Source. See note 62.

identified.<sup>80</sup>

Nevertheless, over the whole period up to the Civil War most of the Grassington lead was probably carried to York and thence to Hull for export to the continent. After 1618 two-thirds of the refined lead were retained by the miners. Some they might have sold locally and to chapmen. However, there is evidence that they contracted to sell their entire production in bulk to one partnership of merchants, John Bland, Robert Edwards, Thomas Metcalfe and William Busfield, who shipped it to Holland and Hamburg. Metcalfe and Busfield were Leeds merchants, the others more likely from York, where Busfield probably originated or had relatives in trade. When they successfully petitioned the Privy Council in September 1628 for permission to continue exporting despite the prohibition during the French war, they stated they had in hand 120 fothers from a Craven mine. This was most likely Grassington because of Busfield's connections with Earl Francis who sometimes employed him.<sup>81</sup>

The Civil War fighting and especially the close siege of Skipton Castle in 1645

80. Bolton MSS, Bk 94, fol. 6v; 157, fol. 1; 158, fol.1; 232, fol. 142. See Table II.  
81. *Acts of the Privy Council 1628-1629*, p. 143. The original document, PRO, PC2/38, fol. 461, is no more helpful. For Metcalfe and Busfield, see Joan W. Kirby, 'A Leeds Elite: the Principal Burgesses of the First Leeds Corporation', *Northern History*, 20 (Leeds, 1984), pp. 94, 106. Busfield was probably related to the John Busfield, York pewterer, with whom Earl Francis had dealings (Bolton MSS, Bk 226, fol. 126v).

disturbed the working and many of the Derbyshire men left. The earl of Cork paid the smelt mill workers' wages in 1644 and 1645 and in the latter year Peter Pulman sold lead for £48, six tons, to one customer, Mr Richard Swaydale. In 1645-46 the mines were said to be worth very little for want of wood and workmen, another difficulty now being the sequestration of the earl of Cork's estates. But Pulman kept the work going, leasing from Cork both Threshfield Park and Grass Wood for the fuel and disbursing £166 of his own money on Cork's behalf by November 1649, when the Low Mill (the only one working it seems) was in lease to a Mr Smithson. By the time of Pulman's death in 1651 orderly production had returned.<sup>82</sup> John Heles replaced him as barmaster, with George Smith as deputy. George Padget had charge of the spring and woods, the chopwood men and the miners at £4 a year wages. Humphrey Hughes decided policy with Cork's approval, as with the coalmining.

To provide chopwood Hughes reached agreement in February 1651 with Francis Ratcliffe gent. of Threshfield to use a spring of his there, allowing him instead a parcel of wood at Bolton. The value of the timber taken in the first year was £10 7s.6d. Hughes paid Thorpe men 13s. for freedom to get hearthstones and fire stones from their fell for the leadmill. He came to a new arrangement with the miners over the provision of timber. Hitherto they had been allowed to take what they required, but this had led to 'insufferable' spoil of Cork's woods. Now Hughes was to allow them timber at 8d. the dozen, which in 1652 cost Cork £5 0s.8d. However, the yearly profits from the Low Mill, after deduction of costs, fell from £110 in 1650-51 to £107, only £22 9s. in 1652, then £82 2s., and £54 15s.8d. in the next two years.<sup>83</sup>

The main cause of the collapse in profits in 1651-52 was a two-year stop on all work because the miners objected to paying the higher charges for the timber whilst still having to pay a levy of a third of the smelted lead to the Corks. This issue and bringing the great work at Cockbur Foot back into production were the subject of negotiations between Hughes and a group of 'new adventurers' about Michaelmas 1654. The Cockbur workings could only be brought back into full production by 'industry' and new investment, because it was taking 12 persons toiling every 24 hours drawing water to keep just four men at work mining. The adventurers were prepared to spend £400 on repairing the decayed workings and make a sough to drain the field.

On 30 December Hughes and Edward Carew, for the Corks, agreed articles with Richard and Robert Leyland, Peter Alcocke and Robert Wilkinson for a twenty-one years' lease 'for an adventure to be by them made for findeing a Lead Myne' from the lower end of Wilkinson's present mine which was at the north or north-west end of Cockbur. The Corks were to give them £4 worth of wood for their first shafts and find them timber according to the customs of the Moor. The Corks were also required to contribute a fourth part, up to a maximum of £50, towards the £200 the adventurers would spend on the necessary drainage, the money to come from a third part of the Corks' annual profits of the ore to be got. Instead of the third part of the refined lead received in the past, the Corks were now to have only a fourth.

Lady Cork, managing affairs in her husband's absence, was unhappy at the long term of the lease and the reduction in their share of the lead. Hughes pointed out that it was at least as good a bargain as was enjoyed by other owners and that the drainage would clear mining for half a mile, which other adventurers could work beyond the 150 yards reserved for the Leylands, Alcocke and Wilkinson. Moreover, the destruction of the

82. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Probate Registry, 1651; Londesborough Papers, I (i) 40. William Watson was 'the Lead Buyer' in 1646 (Bolton MSS, Sundry II, 4).

83. Curry, L/45/41; Bolton MSS, Bks 274, fols 5, 32; 275, fol. 32; 276, fol. 4. Income comprised dues from the mining and profits of the Low Mill (Chatsworth, Bolton Abbey MSS, Box 10/5, fol. 14).

woods had ended and the woods and springs at Grassington and Bolton would maintain a work of £1,000 a year for sixty years and still be preserved. 'God blesse their Endeavours' was his fervent plea.<sup>84</sup>

The new investment restored Cockbur to its pre-war profitability and signified a new phase in the history of mining on Grassington Moor. After the Cliffords as manorial entrepreneurs and the self-regulation of the miners came groups or syndicates, either local like these men or, increasingly, outside investors, the pattern for the future. Hughes recorded steadily rising profits in the later sixteen-fifties from £62 16s.8d. in 1655 to £91 16s.8d. in 1656 and an output of forty-five tons in 1659 which was approaching pre-war levels. George Smith's expenditure in 1658 included repairs to the lead mill's chimney, bellows and dam. Entries of receipts and expenditures echo the sixteen-thirties yet the Civil War had been a catalyst, permanently altering the organization of the exploitation of the Grassington veins under the Corks as lords of the mineral liberty.<sup>85</sup>

The outlets for the Grassington lead were similar to the earlier period. It was used to repair the guttering at Newbiggin and the gallery roof at Bolton Hall, the only two former Clifford residences inherited by the Corks. Lady Anne Clifford purchased much for Barden Tower and also Skipton Castle which she restored after the Parliamentary slighting, when forty-four tons had been stripped off and sold.<sup>86</sup> Cork, like Earl Francis, offered lead as security for payment of his debts. One instance throws light on the Grassington fother. Cork had agreed to pay £200 to Mr Richard Taylor, a Leeds merchant, out of the leadworks' profits. But shortage of cash forced Hughes to borrow the £100 due at Christmas 1654 from another Leeds merchant Mr Watkinson. As reimbursement, he delivered ten fothers to Watkinson at £9 a fother at York, crane weight. At York the Grassington lead was found to be four hundredweights light and Hughes had to make up the shortfall in cash. Cork, however, refused to allow the payment, presumably regarding the leadmill workers as at fault. In fact the fother was a variable measure and that at York higher than most. This was to be a recurring difficulty.<sup>87</sup>

Peter Pulman had sold £11 10s. worth of lead to William Emott in 1649 and four pieces in 1651 for £2 4s.9d. to Lady Scrope of Bolton Castle, Wensleydale and John Calvert of Redmire near Richmond.<sup>88</sup> John Lupton gent. of Linton, who took thirteen tons in 1654 at £7 15s. a ton, by 1658 led a partnership mining and smelting at Grassington. Christopher Browne of Gisburne, who was probably a chapman or plumber, took five tons in 1655 which was an advance on payment of a debt by Cork to a Mr Bennet.<sup>89</sup> Scant though these details are, they suffice to show the restoration of normal marketing of Cork's lead similar to his Clifford predecessors. As with coal,

84. Londesborough Papers, I (i) 64; Bolton MSS, Bks 276, fol. 25; 277, fols 4- 5; 278, fol. 4; Sundry, II, 34, 35, and, for the agreement, 59.

85. Raistrick, 1973, p. 92.

86. Bolton MSS, Bk 276, fol. 4; Sundry, II, 36; Chatsworth, Unlisted MS. Mr Smithson, Cork's lessee at the Low Mill, bought the castle lead for £9 a ton (PRO, Chancery Depositions, C22/214/43).

87. Bolton MSS, Bks 275, fol. 25; 278, fol. 31. The Grassington fother is usually given as 2,460 lb., and the York in the sixteenth century as 2,505½ lb. (D. M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), p. 189). A note on the problem on 11 Aug. 1668 explained that the York crane weight was 10 lb. more in the hundred than the Grassington mill weight. But because the York crane did not have a 14 lb. weight or under, their custom was to take whatever Grassington lead was overweight without payment, which was a great loss to Cork (Chatsworth, Unlisted MS, 'Notes of Business at Bolton 67, 68, 69').

88. See above, note 82. His widow Ann sought to recover the debts for the four pieces by action in Skipton Burgess Court on 7 April 1651 (YAS, DD121/10/6).

89. Bolton MSS, Bks 275, fol. 5, 277, fols 4, 5; Raistrick, 1973, p. 92.

independent searchers for lead were active by the late sixteen-sixties under Cork's aegis. In 1669, for instance, Mr Ward and others, who had lost very much money venturing in Langstrothdale, appealed to Cork to advance something to them or allow them reasonable terms at the smelt mill.<sup>90</sup>

The extension of Cork's leadmining interests in his mineral liberty and the subsequent history of the Grassington works under the Burlingtons and Devonshires are well known and outside the scope of this article. It is, however, worth re-iterating, because they are sometimes treated dismissively, that it was Earls George and Francis who laid the foundations for the highly prosperous industry Grassington leadmining became over the next two centuries. Their leadmills, refurbished, surprisingly endured, the High Mill to about 1760, the Low Mill until 1792, the ruins of the latter visible testimony to the earls' enterprise in this principal extractive industry in Craven.<sup>91</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The Cliffords' utilisation of the mineral resources on their estates was an important contribution to the industrial development of both Craven and Westmorland. As entrepreneurs they gave an impetus to traditional small-scale workings of coal and lead and founded new ironworks on the Crimble and at Brougham. Countess Margaret and perhaps Earl George invested in experiments in iron-smelting in a continuum which a century later was to achieve success. These enterprises enhanced their estate revenues, besides making them all but self-sufficient in fuel, refined lead and bar iron. The Grassington smelt-mills produced in their best years £200 profit; the Craven coalmines over £50; the Stainmore pits £20 and the Brougham ironworks £30 at their lowest yield during the sixteen-thirties. The Crimble works, too, would more than repay the investment. The Cliffords achieved in every aspect of their mining and smelting their twin objectives of profit and self-provision.

In doing so they made a substantial contribution to local, regional and, in the case of lead, European production and consumption. A few of their enterprises were short-lived; for the rest, their investments ensured continuity and expansion. Most of all, their extension of the Grassington lead mining onto the Low and High Moors founded the biggest extractive industry in Craven. Quite as significant was the fostering of an entrepreneurial spirit amongst the local gentry, yeomen and husbandmen towards mineral extraction which particularly came to the fore during and after the Interregnum and was similarly encouraged by the earls of Cork and Burlington.

The Cliffords' mining and smelting gave both an immediate and a long-term stimulus to the economy of Craven and Cumbria. They created employment for skilled workers, labourers – men, women and children – woodcutters, charcoal burners, miners, blacksmiths, quarriers and the under-rated carriers and chapmen. Many tons of ore, coal, lead, iron, chopwood and charcoal were shifted by oxen and carts, packhorses and by boat on Windermere and ship across the North Sea. Incomers were attracted and in some places communities grew up to serve these industries. Earls George and Francis were instruments of change in another respect. The forges, smelt mills, mines, kilns, smithies, noise and fumes, the miners' and colliers' cottages, though far from novel in Craven and the Eden Valley, yet became familiar enough sights to modify noticeably the visual and mental environment and give these rural communities an industrial dimension, a prelude to the modern world.

90. Chatsworth, Unlisted MS, 'Notes of Business at Bolton 67, 68, 69'.

91. *The Mines of Grassington Moor and Wharfedale* (Northern Mine Research Soc., 1980), p. 38.

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## THE ROBINSONS OF NEWBY PARK AND NEWBY HALL. PART 2.

Tancred Robinson, Baronet, Rear Admiral of the White. 1686 - 1754

by G. Hinchliffe

## A NAVAL CAREER.

Tancred Robinson was born on the 30th August 1686, the second surviving son of Sir William. During his boyhood it was decided that he should make the Royal Navy his career, and in December 1705 he was appointed to her Majesty's ship *Albemarle* as fifth lieutenant, although an undated letter from his elder brother Metcalfe suggests that he may have been at sea much earlier, perhaps in the nominal rating of officer's servant. The letter, sent to their mother, reported, 'Brother Tanky and I have had a joyful meeting. He is very much grown and speaks very well, as far as I can perceive yet, and is a true seaman'. As Tancred's mother's brother, John Aislabie, was Member of Parliament for Ripon and successively a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty and Treasurer of the Navy, he possessed the influence then necessary for rapid progress, so that after only a few months in his first ship Tancred was moved to H.M.S. *Humber*, though still as fifth lieutenant. Remaining in her for a similarly brief period, he then moved to H.M.S. *Feversham*, this time as lieutenant, with a total of only twelve months service as an officer.

After only three months service in the *Feversham* he was promoted in March 1707 to the rank of master and commander, and was appointed to command the *Solebay*, a sixth rate of 24 guns with a complement of 115 men.<sup>1</sup> Among several small ships employed in the protection of the East Coast trade, the *Solebay* was based on Kings Lynn in order to protect the corn trade of that port from the heavy depredations of French privateers working from Dunkirk. It was the duty of the mayor to collect at Lynn suitable numbers of ships working from that port either southward to London River or northward to Newcastle preparatory to entrusting them to the Navy's care, and to direct Robinson's activities between convoys. The Dunkirkers were at their most aggressive in this year, as many English and Dutch Ships or war had been assembled off Toulon to assist Prince Eugene's operation against that base. English mercantile losses became so severe that merchants petitioned Parliament to give them better protection. The serious nature of the problem is shown in Robinson's orders from the Admiralty:

Lord High Admiral  
10 July 1707

Captain Robinson  
*Solebay at Lynn.*

Whereas I have received an account that a privateer of one hundred and fifty men and sixteen guns which is supposed to be her Majesty's late sloop the *Ferret*, had taken a hoy out of Yarmouth Roads, sent his boat ashore to Mock Beggar's Hall, and plundered a house there; as you will be more particular informed by the enclosed copy of a letter from Mr. Wortley of Wells; you are

1. The naval papers are numbered as follows: *Solebay*, NH 2512; *Gosport*, NH 2516; *Deptford*, NH 2517, *Winchester*, NH 2522; *Dreadnought*, NH 2546; *Windsor*, NH 2560; *Kent*, NH 2566; *Britannia*, NH 2570, 2571; *York*, NH 2572.

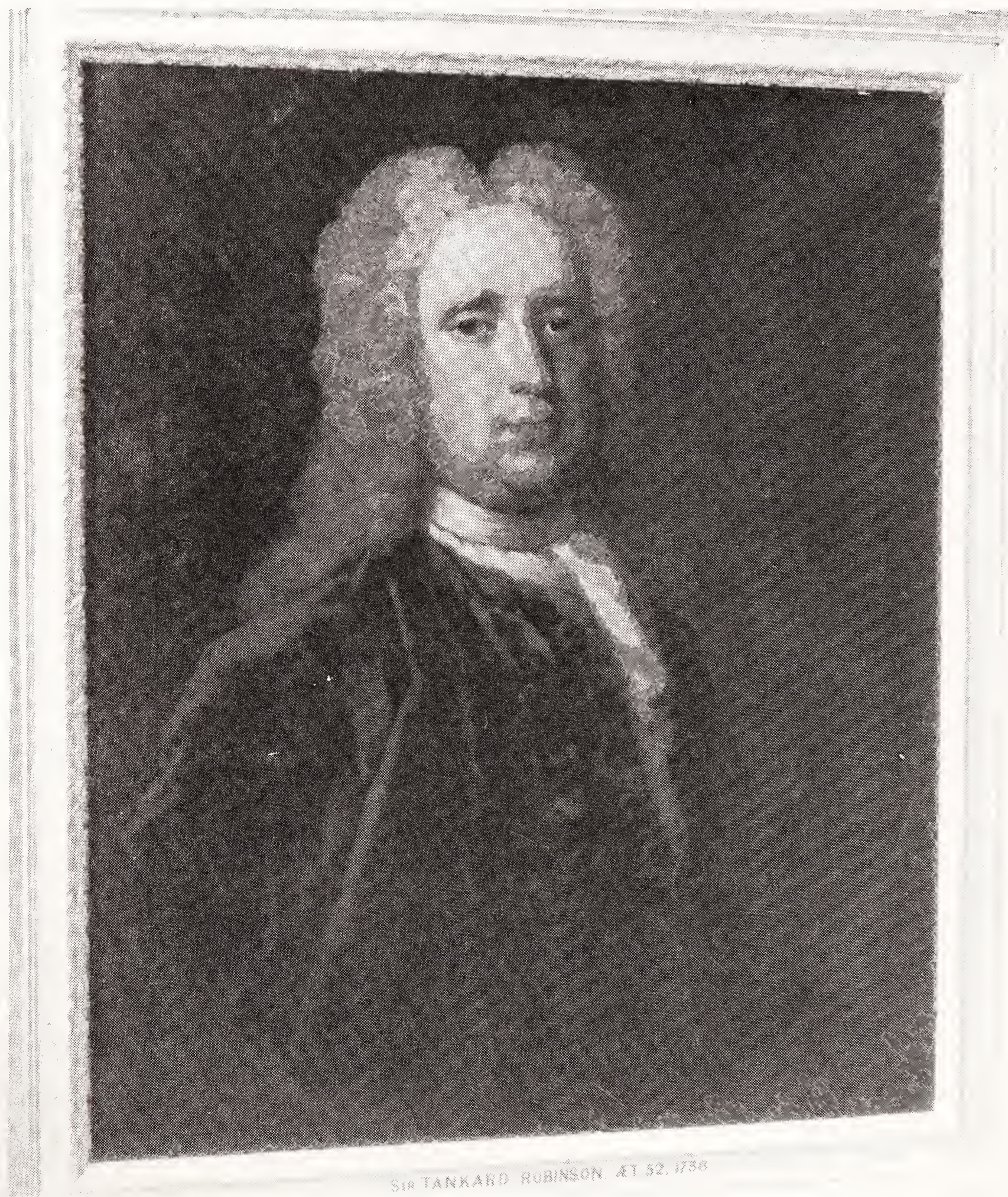


Fig 1. Sir Tancred Robinson, 1738. Painting at Newby Hall, ascribed to circle of Joseph Highmore. Reproduced by permission of Mr. R.E.J. Compton.

therefore hereby required and directed notwithstanding any former orders to the contrary immediately upon receipt hereof, to sail with the ship under your command and cruise between Lynn and Yarmouth Roads or anywhere else on the northern coast, where you shall understand the said privateer is, which you are to endeavour to inform yourself of, and upon meeting her, you are to use your best endeavours to take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy her and to do the like to any other of the enemy's ships you shall meet with, on which service you are to continue for a week, and then to return to your station again; and prosecute your former orders.

(NH 2512/XVII)

There is no record of the *Solebay* having had any success on this occasion.

The letters show that Robinson soon met with problems in victualling his ship. The system used by the Victualling Office was to appoint at convenient ports agents who provided the Queen's ships with supplies according to a scale laid down by the office, but such agents were more frequent along the Channel than on the North Sea coast. However, in ports where agents were not available the captains were allowed to buy supplies where they could obtain them, but always within the scale of  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  a man per day laid down by the office. As early as May 1707 Robinson exceeded these limits, and though the office honoured the bill, they reproved him for incurring it:

We are to acquaint you we allow Capt. Lisle, commander of her Majesty's ship *Merlin*, but sixpence halfpenny a man a day for victualling the said ship at Boston and are content to allow the same for victualling her Majesty's ship *Solebay* under your command at Lynn.

P.S. Notwithstanding this agreement you are to victual at any of the ports where we have an agent as often as you can have opportunity.

(NH 2512/XX)

Written hastily on the back of this order is the following draft reply in Robinson's handwriting:

Sir,  
This is in answer to yours... I can't victual my ship's company for sixpence halfpenny a man a day but desire that unless you will allow me sevenpence as you did to Capt. Walpole and Lt. Hill you will appoint an agent here. If you consider the extra charge I am at for necessaries more than Capt. Lisle of the *Merlin*, I hope you will think sevenpence reasonable enough especially when you have allowed it formerly for the same ship at the same place.

Whether this reply was ever sent is not indicated, but by October the Victualling Office was again calling Robinson to order, this time for victualling the ship from unofficial suppliers at Newcastle, in spite of there being an official agent there. It would appear that the youthful captain was not the most docile of officers, but it should be borne in mind that the Royal Navy in Queen Anne's reign was much less rigidly administered than in the period of the Napoleonic Wars nearly a century later.

In January 1708 Robinson was promoted from commander to captain and appointed to command her Majesty's ship *Gosport*, a fifth rate of 40 guns and 190 men, at a time when Admiral Forbin, one of the most formidable of French leaders, was assembling a large number of ships at Dunkirk for the purpose of landing Jacobites and supporting French troops on the east coast of Scotland, in hopes of starting a rising which would compel the government to withdraw substantial numbers of troops from the main theatre of war in the Low Countries.

To meet the danger Admiral Sir George Byng concentrated all available naval forces, so that by 6th. March his line of battle comprised 40 ships, including the *Gosport*, together with 16 frigates and fireships. From this fleet Byng detached Rear Admiral Baker with seven ships, among them the *Gosport*, to watch off Dunkirk and to keep in touch with Marlborough's forces in case of troops being needed to be carried from the Low Countries to Scotland. On the 8th. March Forbin sailed for the north and was pursued by Byng as far as the Firth of Forth, where a scattered action took place. Although this resulted in the taking, or rather retaking, of only one ship, the *Salisbury*, which had been taken by the French in 1703, Forbin saw little hope of success and returned to Dunkirk. In the meantime Baker's squadron had embarked the troops, 170 of them in the *Gosport*, and made haste to follow Byng. The convoy reached Tynemouth six days later, only to find the danger over, though the hastily embarked troops, ill-equipped for the expedition, suffered heavy losses from the harsh conditions on board

the ships. The French, enduring the same hardships, lost even more of their troops, and many of the Jacobites were taken in the *Salisbury*.

Soon after the 'Alarm from Dunkirk' the *Gosport* was one of a small group of ships appointed to convoy merchant ships to Russia, but on the way north had to put into Tynemouth to repair damage to her bow-sprit and head. When this had been made good the convoy proceeded to Archangel and was back in the Thames with the returning trade by November.

The opening months of 1709 saw such a severe winter that France was faced with starvation and Louis XIV was driven to seek peace. The Allies, failing to realise the extent of the disaster, were preparing to renew fighting, for which purpose Marlborough made a hasty visit to England early in March, making the crossing in the *Gosport*. Louis' efforts for peace failed, and the war continued, with the privateers as active as ever. The extent of their aggressiveness is shown in orders received by Robinson in March,

The enemy's privateers do very much infest the coast of Sussex, but more especially about Beachy Head, where they lurk behind the land, or under the shore, and seize our trading ships and vessels, you are therefore directed to cruise to and fro on the coast of Sussex, but most frequently off of Beachy Head, and use your utmost to protect the trade of her Majesty's subjects. ... And whereas the ship *Edinburgh Galley* lately arrived from the Canaries was pursued by two French privateers at Beachy Head, and driven ashore in Pevensey Bay near Hastings, since which most of her lading of wines is saved and lies ready at Hastings to be shipped on board the two vessels freighted for that purpose, you are therefore required and directed to convoy both the vessels to the Downs.

(NH 2516/104)

Almost at once the *Gosport* was recalled from this duty with orders to join a squadron of a dozen ships bound to the Sound to prevent ships, both French and neutral, from leaving the Baltic in order to carry corn to starving France. The squadron was commanded by Vice Admiral Sir John Norris, under whom Robinson was to serve on several later occasions. While this squadron was assembling in the Downs, Robinson's ship captured a Dunkirker, the *Duke of Berwick*, and took her into the Thames, where ship and cargo were condemned as lawful prize. The 160 hogsheads of wine which were her main cargo were auctioned at Lloyds 'by inch of candle' and produced £2,558. 10s.0d., smaller quantities of brandy and resin went for £61 11s.0d., and the ship and her tackle for £190, but duty paid on these items totalled £2,104. 11s.6d., while auction fees and legal charges, wages to packers, labourers and others, brought the total expenses to almost £2,300, leaving only slightly over £700 for distribution. As captain of the ship Robinson was entitled to three eighths of the prize money, and the accounts show that he also received £42 commission for acting as agents for all the claimants.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the squadron ordered to the Baltic, Norris's ships concentrated at Yarmouth in June, and lay at Elsinore by the middle of July. Apart from a search for three French privateers laden with corn, said to be lying in Hamer Sound on the Norwegian coast, the mission appears to have found little enemy activity, and is described by Laird-Clowes in 'The Royal Navy' as 'A peaceful demonstration, not a shot fired.' Not only was the voyage quiet, but it was also brief, and Robinson was back in Sheerness by the middle of August, resuming the protection of coastal convoys between the Downs and Plymouth, followed by a spell of guardianship of the herring fishery off Pevensey and Winchelsea, ending when the *Gosport* received a new captain in November 1709.

2. C.S.P. (*Trade and Plantations*), No. 349, 1710/11.

About this time he registered for naval service under the terms of an Act of Parliament designed to improve the supply of men for the Navy. The measure was abortive, but Robinson's certificate has value in containing a brief description of his appearance:

NUMBER

21330

By the Principal Officers and  
Commissioners for Registering Seamen.

THESE are to certify that TANCRED ROBINSON aged 23 years being a middle sized man, well set up and of a fair complexion is registered for the service of her Majesty in her Royal Navy according to an Act of Parliament made in the seventh year of King William the Third, intituled an Act for the Increase and Encouragement of Seamen.

Dated at the Head Office for registering Seamen this 25th February 1709/10

(NH 2514/7)

Early in 1710 Robinson was appointed to command the *Deptford*, which was a fourth rate of 50 guns with a ship's company of 280 men, one of ten ships ordered to protect the trade to the West Indies and North America, then assembling at Spithead. The orders of the Admiralty commissioners were for all the trade to proceed to sea in company, and after separating at a convenient point in the Atlantic, the trade for Virginia and Maryland was to be escorted thither by Robinson in the *Deptford*, with Captain Ley in the *Bedford Galley* under his command. Robinson had with him as a passenger Alexander Spotswood, who had been appointed lieutenant governor of Virginia, taking with him a household of chaplain, physician and sixteen servants.

Robinson's orders required him to acquaint the masters of ships in the harbours of Virginia and Maryland that he would continue there for ninety days and no longer, and would then bring them home under his convey. During this period he was to lie in Lynnhaven Bay, one of the inlets of Chesapeake Bay, and cruise between the Capes in order to protect shipping against the ubiquitous privateers. It was while carrying out the last part of these orders that the *Deptford* fell in with the *Jamaica Merchant*, which ship was in such distress that her master petitioned the man of war for help. The document, neatly written on board by Robinson's clerk, and signed by his purser, two of his midshipmen and the clerk, bore the signatures or marks of all 30 members of the *Jamaica Merchant's*, crew, headed by her master, and read as follows:

15th. July 1710

We whose names are undermentioned being the commander officers and mariners of the ship called the *Jamaica Merchant* which ship is now in great distress: her sides giving way and frapped, her hudding ends open,<sup>3</sup> the stem working, oakum spewed out of the seams of her bows, guns thrown overboard, topmasts by the board, best bower cut away and other things that could be come at: do desire that for the preservation of our lives and the said ship and cargo you'll be pleased to take in such goods as (being at hand) we must of necessity otherwise be obliged to throw overboard, for the use of the freighters and owners they paying the usual salvage in such cases, it being our opinion that it's the only way for the preservation of the whole, of which we shall be ready to make oath when we arrive at any port where it can conveniently be done. We also desire you'll be pleased to give us other assistance either by towing us into port or otherwise as occasion shall require being of opinion that in case of bad weather the aforesaid ship won't be able to hold it.

Dated aboard the aforesaid ship about 45 or 50 leagues east from Cape Henry this 15th. day of July 1711

(NH 2519)

3. Frapped - having cables passed right round the ship and made taut. Hudding ends - the ends of the planking where these were rebated into the stem.

There follow 30 signatures of the *Jamaica Merchant's* crew below which are those of the following officers of the *Deptford*:

Geo Everden	Purser
James Emerson	Midshipman
Charles Hollidge	Midshipman
Francis Gibson	Captain's Clerk

The above document was reinforced with a declaration that Captain Blake had taken the initiative in asking for help from Robinson, together with other papers intended to make the whole transaction look plausible, suggesting that the participants were in doubt as to whether their bargain was lawful. The outcome is not revealed, as the *Jamaica Merchant* joined the return convoy but had the misfortune to be captured on reaching home waters. Robinson also brought back a good deal of cargo for his own profit, including 'twelve thousand weight' of cocoa, 30 hogsheads of beaverskins and 17 more of tobacco, this last item by joint arrangement between the captains of the two escort ships. Eventually the convoy, comprising 46 ships, sailed for home, but ran into serious trouble on nearing home waters, the *Jamaica Merchant* recorded as 'taken at sea, three more 'taken Beachy', one taken 'Soundings', and seven of the hogsheads of tobacco, scattered for safety among the larger ships, were lost and the *Deptford* lost all her boats.

Robinson was now promoted to the *Winchester*, but the war was coming to an end, the ship was laid off, and Robinson went on half pay, but was soon recalled and appointed to command the *Dreadnought*, a fourth rate of 60 guns and 320 men, which was to be one of a fleet of over twenty ships ordered to the Baltic under the command of Admiral Sir John Norris, because Charles XII of Sweden hoped to occupy the riparian provinces, unfortunately when Czar Peter was already fortifying the shores of Finland.

Sir John Norris assembled the British contingent of this fleet at the Nore, the fitting out being slightly distracted by the escape from Newgate Prison of Thomas Forster, the incompetent leader of the English Jacobites in the previous year's rebellion. Forster, even his name mis-spelt at the Admiralty, was described as, 'Thomas Foster Junior is a person of a middle stature inclining to be fat, well shaped, except that he stoops in the shoulders, fair complexioned, his mouth wide, his nose pretty long, his eyes grey, speaks the northern dialect, and is about thirty five years of age'. In spite of a reward of £1000, Forster made his way to the Pretender at Avignon, while eight others who escaped from the same prison also evaded the boats ordered by Norris to search the shipping in London River.

By mid-July the combined fleets were in Copenhagen Roads and Norris informed his captains that he expected the Czar to visit his flagship, in which event his Majesty was to be saluted with 11 guns from each ship. By August the fleets had penetrated the Baltic. There was considerable difficulty in victualling the fleet, Danish beer, butter and cheese being brought on board, 'always with a lieutenant in charge of the boat,' and with an issue of bread (biscuit), which had been on two thirds allowance. The bread order explained;

'Rusk will be provided instead of bread by the resident victualler, which being rye bread is in its nature a hungry feeding. The ship's company is to go to whole allowance of bread, issuing to them half rusk and half English biscuit until the said rusk be expended, then return to two thirds allowance'. It should be explained that reduced allowance of victuals was by no means uncommon, and indeed was not unpopular, since the men received a money allowance in compensation for short rations and this was usually paid with reasonable promptitude, whereas their pay was not given until the end of the ship's commission, and sometimes much later.

In 1717 a stronger fleet of nearly 30 ships was assembled, this time under Admiral Sir George Byng, but again including the *Dreadnought* under Robinson's command. The military position eased, the fleet returned by August, and Robinson was placed on half-pay. He therefore missed employment in 1718, when a fleet went to the Mediterranean to counter a Spanish invasion of Sicily, and was very successful at Cape Passaro.

The Letters throw little light on Robinson's period of half-pay, though the Passaro victory led to a considerable reduction in the Royal Navy, so that Robinson's thoughts turned towards the possibility of a family return to a seat in the House of Commons. When this proved impracticable Robinson returned to half pay and was not given another ship until 1733, when he was appointed to command the *Kent*, a third rate of 70 guns then serving as guardship at Portsmouth, with orders to raise her to her full complement of 480. This was completed by January 1734, even the pressing of men from homeward bound merchantmen being authorised. It was provided that when a ship of war took men from such ships she must replace them with men from her own ship's company, presumably men who could be expected not to 'Run'. These men, released on the merchantman's arrival in London River, were then to apply to the clerk of the cheque at Deptford for conduct money to cover their costs in returning overland to Portsmouth. Such cumbersome methods, usual in time of war, were rarely used in peace time, so that their employment on this occasion indicated a considerable sense of crisis. The fleet was rapidly built up under the command of Admiral Sir John Norris. Robinson was quickly advanced to Norris's flagship, the *Britannia*, as first captain, in which post he carried out the duties of chief of staff to the admiral, with the second captain, named Whitney, more directly concerned with the command of the ship itself. The *Britannia* was a first rate of 100 guns and had a ship's company of 900, the largest ship of a fleet of over 20 ships of the line which lay in Portsmouth until the onset of winter. As early as February 1735 the fleet was again put in readiness, this time because Spain seemed on the point of invading Portugal, with whom Britain was now so firmly in alliance that Lisbon had become a convenient intermediate station, very useful in view of the new British naval presence in the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and Minorca. Norris, who was a member of parliament as well as an admiral, was detained by business in the House of Commons, but the stream of instructions which he sent to Robinson from his house in Golden Square makes it clear that he was impatient to get the fleet to sea. Writing in April he enumerated his requirements,

I am earnestly desirous my ship should be well manned and you will oblige me this summer to keep only three or four men as servants that will be fit for service and discharge the rest, and tell Captain Whitney that I hope his allowed servants are lusty people and not children, otherwise when I muster the ship I shall discharge them or any others that are so, for I will endeavour to have my ship perfectly manned, and the year is so far advanced that we all ought to be now perfectly ready for the public service. If we have a bad man or two we may spare them to some other ship in want.

Be so good as to let the men be well quartered and constantly exercised and made to keep themselves clean, and mustered on platforms every day that they may be seen and know their quarters.

And let the minister preach every Sunday against swearing and debauchery, and give every man half a dozen drubs that is guilty of it at the black stakes, and the men called up and the articles of war read under which he is punished, and pray let the ship's company be made as perfectly as possible.

With my compliments  
J.N.

(NH 2570/xxxix)

A week later a further stream of questions on details closes with an apology,

I ask your pardon for so minute an inquiry, but I have an ambition to have the *Britannia* complete in all points, that if the service of the Government should want our faithful obedience to its service, we may perform it with honour to ourselves, and if peace should be established, we may return to our homes with the satisfaction of having been in perfect condition to obey their commands,

Pray my compliments etc.

J. N.

Footnote: At the pay of the ship I should be glad no trifles were sold, only good clothes and linen, and no drink to avoid disorders.

(NH2570/xxxvii)

Norris's orders, ranging from the strict to the paternal, which are typical of many others in the Letters, give a revealing picture of a naval commander of very long sea service whose innovations became the basis of much naval practice in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars.

It was mid-June before Norris was free to leave London, by which time his orders had been carried out so completely as to enable the fleet to leave Spithead. Lisbon was reached on the 9th. July and an anchorage occupied in the Bay of Wares. Robinson's journal records that shortly Norris, with his vice- and rear admirals, 'went up to Lisbon with their boats, attended by the captains of the fleet, and waited upon John V and the Royal Family at the Palace', and on the next day twenty eight boat-loads of wine, oxen, sheep, fowls and greens were presented by the King and distributed among the ships. A few days later,

the King, with the Princes of the Blood and a numerous train of courtiers, with many of his nobility in several schooners, barges, and other boats, came down the river directly for the *Britannia*... When his Majesty was got within a cable's length and a half, the colours, flags and pendants were let fly at once aboard the said ship, the trumpets sounding and the kettledrums beating at the same time, and when he approached within half a cable's length, was saluted with three cheers, and at the same time every ship in the squadron did the same number. When the King came alongside, the ladder being manned with midshipmen with swords at their sides, the Admiral went down to the bottom of the ladder and there received his Majesty and the rest of the Princes of the Royal Blood, who were in a magnificent barge or half galley, with rowers in scarlet liveries with gold lace, having hoisted the standard of Portugal, which was very rich.

(NH 2916 C)

After compliments the King and the royal party were shown all over the ship, 'perfectly clean and clear, fore and aft,' and after more respects had been paid the whole train of boats steered away for Vice Admiral Balchen in the *Princess Amelia*, where the compliments were repeated. The King then directed his course for the *Namur*, the flagship of Rear Admiral Haddock, but a freshening wind and a strong tide compelled a curtailment, though as Robinson records, not before 2650 guns had been fired in salute.

At the time of the visit Portugal was enjoying a period of considerable prosperity notwithstanding that she was overshadowed by the threat of a Spanish invasion. Much of the wealth came from the diamonds of Minas Geraes which had been opened in Brazil only a few years before. Atkinson's history states that the king handed out the diamonds with great liberality 'in gestures of prestige or largesse', and the British officers evidently shared these favours, as in 1753 Tancred's son wrote from London to his father:

Hon'd Sir,

Mr. Buckle called upon me this morning and says he has sold the diamond for two hundred pounds ... he says it is a great price for a diamond of twenty three carats weight, for though a brilliant, it is not of the first water, having a yellowish-cast, and being Portugal cut.

(NH 2868 A)

The letter is endorsed by Tancred: 'Willie, about the diamond, a present from the King of Portugal.

The courtesies over, the fleet settled down to an uneventful routine broken from time to time by more salutes. On occasion the boats of the fleet were sent for the relief of merchant vessels in distress, as in the following instance,

Sir John Norris

To Tancred Robinson,  
First Captain,  
His Majesty's ship, *Britannia*,  
4 Jan. 1735/6

Whereas Samuel Turner, master of the *Goldfinch*, bound from Virginia to Bristol, has represented to me, that having been forced upon the coast of Portugal by bad weather, he attempted twice to come into this port within these few days, and in doing of it, was each time obliged to anchor off St. Julians, by the winds taking him short, and drove him out to sea again from thence by the violence of the weather, with the loss of both his anchors and cables; insomuch that she is now forced to keep the sea as well as she can for want of ground tackle, and several of her hands are sick; and therefore has prayed her to order him such assistance as is necessary to bring the said vessel into this harbour;

You are therefore hereby required and directed to send Lieutenant Nevison, ten able seamen belonging to the *Britannia* and their hammackoes, together with her kedge anchor and cable, on board the *Bordeaux Sloop* tender, with orders to make the best of their way off the Rock of Lisbon in quest of the said vessel, where the master, who is to go with them, says she is, and having found her, the lieutenant with the said ten men, and anchor and cable, is to put himself on board her, and use his best endeavours to bring her into this port as soon as soon as possible, keeping the said tender with him, to be assisting if occasion should require.

Dated etc.

(NH 2570/viii)

In general conditions were easy enough to allow captains to give some shore leave, there being an early reference to cricket being played by some members of the ships' companies, though it is clear from a letter of the admiral that they also engaged in less seemly activities:

Lisbon  
12 July 1736

Sir,

Several quarrels having happened of late between Lisbon and Belem between our people and the Portuguese, which is thought to have proceeded in a great measure from the letting men go on shore to cricket and other diversions, I have thought it proper for preventing the like as much as possible for the future, to order the captains of the ships of my division, as I desire you to do those of yours, to take special care not to give their men leave to go on shore upon their private occasions at any time during their continuance here, but such as they shall be well assured will not be guilty of any irregularity there.

I am etc.  
J.N.

(NH 2572/34)

Early in 1736 international tension had relaxed sufficiently for the fleet to be reduced to two divisions, but on the 26th. May, Robinson received the not unexpected information that he had been appointed rear admiral of the blue,<sup>4</sup> and as both Balchen and Haddock had now left Lisbon with the ships returning home, he became Norris's second in command and hoisted his flag in the *York*, flagship of the second division. His tenure was to prove brief as towards the end of the year his father and elder brother Metcalfe died, with the result that quite unexpectedly he became the head of the family, inheriting the baronetcy and the prospect of succeeding to the very substantial Robinson estates, so that he now had to carry such heavy responsibilities that his presence in England was necessary. Permission to return was given by the Admiralty, whose orders were transmitted to him by Norris,

Lisbon, 10 Mar 1736/7

Sir,

Whereas it has been represented to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that your private affairs require your presence in England as soon as may be, and their Lordships having been pleased to send me their orders of the 7th. of last month, directing me to send you home accordingly, in the ship whereon you bear your flag, you are therefore hereby desired and directed, with the first opportunity of wind and weather, to make the best of your way to Spithead in his Majesty's Ship the *York*, whose commander is hereby required to observe and follow your orders, and upon your arrival at that place, you may repair to London, without further leave from their Lordships, directing Captain Williams to remain with the said ship at Spithead, for their Lordships' further orders.

I am etc,  
J. N.

(NH 2572/4)

When the *York* reached Portsmouth at the end of the month the admiral hauled down his flag, marking the occasion with bell ringing for which his account book notes that he paid half a guinea to the ringers, and on disembarking gave a further half guinea to his boat's crew 'to drink'. Travelling by chariot to London he gave another guinea to the Drums of the Kings household before continuing northwards.

#### CANDIDATE FOR PARLIAMENT, 1720.

If the Royal Navy could offer but precarious prospects of a career, the House of Commons must have appeared to present more certain opportunities, since Tancred's family had represented York with hardly a break for more than sixty years. Sir William who had sat in so many parliaments, was anxious to hand over to the next generation and Tancred appeared the obvious member of the family for the succession. Sir William's desire to retire from Parliament had been frustrated by the passing of the Septennial Act, but in 1720 an election appeared imminent and he wrote to his son, then in receipt of half pay,

Newby, 11 Oct. 1720

Dear Tanky,

I have yours this morning. I thought in my last to have left no room for anybody to doubt of my standing any more for Parliament man. I intend to thank my friends at Clifton and Strensall courts, which are held next Monday and Tuesday, for choosing me so often to represent them in Parliament, that now I am of an advanced age and intend to retire from any public character, that I would take it kindly if they would please to give you their interest at the next election, so

---

4. The order of seniority of admirals ran: 1. Admiral of the Red (Squadron), 2. Admiral of the White, 3. Admiral of the Blue, 4. Vice-Admiral of the Red; 5. Vice-Admiral of the White, 6. Vice-Admiral of the Blue, 7. Rear Admiral of the Red, 8. Rear Admiral of the White, 9. Rear Admiral of the Blue.

you may write to your friends next week to let them know your intention. I think you need not come down till you hear Mr. Thompson has taken his freedom, and walked the streets, though I know it is of moment to get their first promise. You may come down for a fortnight if there be necessity. I would write to the Aldermen, Recorder, Sheriffs, to the Four and Twenty, and Commons; you ought to acquaint your brother Met, and Uncle Aislable, and desire your cousin Weddell's interest, since he does not stand himself. If you could get opportunity to ask my Lord Carlisle's interest it might be proper – great men expect application of that sort. I cannot see the Chancellor's fault, if some people have abused their trust.

Yours,  
W.R.

(NH 2489)

The last sentence refers, of course, to the South Sea crisis which had broken at this time, and which not only brought disaster to John Aislable, but threatened also to ruin many of his relatives and friends. It seemed that while Aislable as treasurer of the navy had so effectively furthered the fortunes of Tancred Robinson the naval officer, Aislable as the dismissed and discredited chancellor of the exchequer could now hamper him seriously as candidate in the coming election. The dissolution was deferred until early in 1722, by which time public excitement had somewhat subsided, and Tancred began campaigning in spite of his father's forebodings.

There were two other candidates, Edward Thompson of York and Sir William Milner of Leeds. The latter was a newcomer, but the Thompsons had a similar background to that of the Robinsons, members of both families having been merchants in York for many generations, and had often shared the two parliamentary seats. Early in the campaign Thompson appears to have tried to clear the ground for himself and Milner, as is clear from a letter which he sent to Sir William Robinson,

York, 20 Dec. 1720

Dear Sir,

I take no doubt that your correspondents here let you know what a vigorous interest Sir William Milner is already making in York, and I am told Mr. Jenkins has written to offer his services, so that I am apprehensive of dividing the Whigs so much that the Tory interest will prevail, unless you are so good as to countenance either Mr. Jenkins or me, and I think I may have room to hope for this favour since I asked it the first. Sir William Milner I dare say is a hearty friend of the present Government and a very worthy gentleman, but yet he stands upon the Archbishop's interest, an interest which will always be maintained if he once gets a footing, and an interest which you seemed very averse to when I had the honour to wait upon you, so that I am persuaded you will think it proper to defend against it, which might be effectually done by our joining. As I have a neighbourly friendship with Sir William (Milner) and the Archbishop, I beg this letter may never be used in my prejudice with them.

I am, Sir,  
your very humble servant,  
Ed. Thompson Junr.

(NH 2490)

It would appear that Thompson believed the Robinson family was so unlikely to produce a candidate that he could ask Sir William to support his own campaign, perhaps overestimating the harm done to the Robinsons by their links with the South Sea disaster, though the 'hungry freemen' were more likely to be influenced by material inducements than by moral considerations. However, when at last campaigning began, Tancred and his friends began to busy themselves in the streets, and even more in the taverns of the city, following much the same methods already described in Thomas Harrison's letter.<sup>5</sup> After the election Robinson accused his

5. Y.A.J. 62 (1991), p. 130

opponents of the fraudulent creation of freemen, the evil practice on which his father had had such strong misgivings, though the Letters show that he himself had to fall into the practice. For example, a letter from a friend in Northallerton who was working on his behalf runs,

You may remember that I wrote you some time since that we had a young man who was bound apprentice to a freeman of York for seven years, which he served well. Your election coming on I have sent the young man with his indentures. If he can be made free (as I fancy he may) he may be entirely at your disposal.

(NH 2490)

Another letter, from Charles Pool of Hull, a fellow half-pay officer, working for Robinson, runs, 'We have another parson which is Mr. Clarke. He has a great many poor relations in York that are free'. The extent to which Robinson sought to create new freemen is not clear, but the payments which he made to those already enfranchised are discussed below.

The Letters also contain much detail on the 'eatanswill' side of Robinson's campaign, including accounts from 35 taverns, many written on very small scraps of paper by almost illiterate landlords. The total of all these accounts is £205 13s.11d. made up of amounts ranging from three shillings to £50. Of this total, £40 represents expenditure on food and accommodation for freemen living outside York and brought into the city at the expense of the candidate, with a further £4 for horses' fodder and stabling. Tobacco and pipes account for £3, brandy and wines for £47, but the greatest outgoing, £110, was for ale and beer. The price of food and accommodation averaged about two shillings for each day's bed and meals, exclusive of drinks, so that the above £40 represents perhaps 400 man/days, with the average stay in York being about three days. A horse's fodder and stabling ran out at about a shilling a day, about half the cost of a man's board and lodging. Only a few accounts listed tobacco separately, but 'pipes', evidently considered expendable, were charged for in some accounts. Usquebaugh – whisky – appears in only one or two accounts, the spirit most in demand being brandy. Wines receive separate mention in only one or two accounts, probably from houses where socially superior electors were entertained, but it is obvious that the majority were regaled with beer or ale, though mead is mentioned in a few of the accounts and cider in one or two more. The price of ale and beer was 4d. a quart everywhere in York, from which it may be assumed that the £110 mentioned above would cover the cost of 6600 quarts, and the price of brandy being usually 2s. a quart, the £47 shown above would buy almost 500 quarts. The specimen accounts which follow will perhaps fill out the picture.<sup>6</sup>

Richard Chippendale's account, which is more detailed than the rest, would appear to be related to the cost of entertainment for electors of standing in York, and seems to give the cost of a single meal for a party:

	£	s.	d.
18 qts. of wine	1	7	0
2 qts. of ale			8
Tobacco			8
3 oranges and sugar			9
4 pullets and oysters		7	6
A dish of fish		4	0
A loin of mutton		2	6

6. All election accounts are numbered NH 2490.

	£	s.	d.
Tarts		1	6
A dish of Scotch collops		4	0
Bread		1	0
	2	9	7

A bill for eight men from Pocklington runs:

Meat and drink for eight men from Pocklington (possibly including cash inducements)	8	8	0
--	---	---	---

Besides the innkeepers' accounts, the agents' lists include:

Given among the poor on Bishophill	9	0
Spent in the Shambles with the butchers	2	0
Given Foster's wife in Lendal, sick	2	0

To return to the cash inducements offered to the electors, the documents include a list from Mr. Dawson, Tancred's agent, which shows that nearly 500 electors received sums of money at the time of the election. The standard payment was half a guinea, though promises of support were given by a few freemen for as little as 5s., while a few others obtained as much as a guinea each.. 'Single' votes, where a freeman undertook to vote for only one of the three candidates, were of special value, and were usually paid for at 13s.6d. each. Freemen of the city who had taken up residence outside York, but who were persuaded to come back to vote for Robinson, not only received half a guinea but also had an allowance of about 8s. for travel costs, though on arrival in the city they were put up at inns at the candidate's expense, as has been described already.

There was no certainty that the promises so purchased would be honoured, though since the voting was open, and the lists of each candidate's supporters could be obtained, a certain constraint is implied. The outside voters were under some control, as they usually received only part of their 'fee', the remainder being withheld until results were known. For example, Robinson's fellow naval captain, already mentioned, wrote, 'I send you a list enclosed of all those I've treated. They all promised fair but I find that is not to be relied on. I gave them eight shillings in hand and have promised to make it half a guinea to pay their horse-hire and charges if they vote for you.' Clearly the freemen made the most of their opportunities as in the case of one John Train of whom the lists tell:

'Paid to John Train, due to him for coming over the last election.' A fine piece of opportunism, as the last election was seven years earlier.

There is also a letter from Robinson's agent which reads: 'The whole body of porters has been here this afternoon. They have declared that they will vote against you if they have not the reward as well as the others'. On the other hand there is one entry on the agent's list of a freeman refunding half a guinea because he did not vote.

This heavy expenditure of energy and money came to nothing, the result of the polling reading:

Milner 1421  
Thompson 1399  
Robinson 1076

Robinson put down his failure to the unscrupulous practices of his opponents. He wrote in his 'Vindication of my Conduct',

When the time came for a new election, which was in the beginning of the year 1722, being

unwilling to let our interest fall without one trial, I determined to push vigorously for what I had so long been labouring for, and accordingly endeavoured all that I could to obtain it, but nevertheless my adversaries by new and extraordinary practices carried their points and gained the election by a considerable majority, which doings were in my opinion the natural consequences of the aforesaid Septennial Act.

I then considered that by this new method of carrying on elections, altogether disagreeable to me, as well as too expensive, I should meet with greater difficulties than ever, in case of another attempt, that it was probable that these measures (if not more detestable ones) would be pursued not only by those present members but by most other candidates hereafter and consequently it was almost impossible for me to enter the lists with any prospects, and indeed there was but one way left for me to proceed in, if I could ever be prevailed on to make another attempt, which I did not approve of nor is it expedient to mention it.

Therefore having weighed and considered these things, I thought it the most wise and prudent to retire and live privately and quietly, and wait for better times, being of opinion that it was more reputable and honourable so to do, than enter into measures which I thought were not altogether just and honest, though some people perhaps may think otherwise.

Robinson followed usual practice in petitioning the House of Commons against the election, alleging that many people who had no right to vote had been admitted to poll, that many who had a right to give their votes had been prevented from doing so, that bribery had been used on behalf of Milner and Thompson, and that the petitioner had a majority of legal votes and should have been elected. (NH 2496) As usual with such petitions, the election was allowed to stand.

However, in 1725 a by-election took place in York because Thompson had taken an office of profit under the Crown and so was required to submit himself for re-election. Robinson had a mind to oppose him, and even began to walk the streets soliciting the support of the freemen, but withdrew before the polling was completed. In the words of his 'Vindication', contained among the Newby Hall papers in Leeds library,

I had not continued much above three years in my retirement, but was called upon again by the people in a most extraordinary manner to appear as a candidate, and indeed their importunity was so great, as not to be resisted or avoided, but by withdrawing myself from my habitation, which at that time I did not think it for my reputation to do.

Therefore in compliance with the people I did appear once more a competitor for a seat in parliament. What a vast majority appeared for me, how and by what means they were brought to desert me, is too fresh in everyone's memory to need being mentioned here. However this remarkable, this very remarkable, transaction served to make it appear more plainly, that my former way of thinking and reasoning was well grounded. It served like-wise to confirm me in my former resolution of living retired and private, which I have accordingly done to this day, and intend to continue, until I see occasion to change my mind, of which at present there is no prospect.

The by-election of 1725 was the occasion of some correspondence between Sir William Robinson and the two Walpoles. Although Sir William held similar political views to their own, and although his son Thomas was then secretary to the younger Walpole, then ambassador to the French court, they were anxious that Thompson, having been raised to a ministerial post, should not suffer the embarrassment of failing to secure re-election. In order that he should not be opposed by the Robinsons the whig leaders wrote to Sir William,

London, May 25, 1725

Sir,

His Majesty having been pleased to take Mr. Thompson, Member of Parliament for York, into his service, which will make it necessary for him to be re-elected, we are very sensible of the

influence that your interest and credit in that city may have on this occasion, which makes us take the liberty to make it our most earnest request to you that you will not by yourself or relations give him the least opposition. Your favour in this matter will not only be of service to his Majesty's affairs, but will ever engage us to do, as we have done, anything in our power to oblige you, or any of your family, being with the greatest truth and regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servants,

R. Walpole

H. Walpole

A further letter quoted below, shows that more pressure was applied through Sir William's son Thomas, then the younger Walpole's secretary. Sir William replied to this insistence that his family should not intervene by saying that the citizens had indeed asked him to stand, but that he considered that Thompson and his own son Tancred would provide the best combination to represent the city, although he would defer to the wishes of the Walpoles by supporting Thompson on this occasion if there seemed any danger of a tory victory. In a further letter to Sir Robert he wrote,

15 June, 1725

Sir,

I think it becomes me to acquaint you that there is a strong ferment in York upon the approaching election, which is tomorrow, if a poll should be demanded. I hope you have that opinion of me to think that I have given no encouragement to that affair. I have sent orders to my steward and bailiff not to appear, and my son has been so far from soliciting that he has refused the offers of his friends and does not design to stir out of the house that day...

(NH 2500)

But Tancred went close to defying the Walpoles, as is clear from a letter which he wrote to his brother Thomas in Paris,

York. 17 June 1725

Dear Brother,

I have had yours about my not opposing Mr. Thompson, and after consultation determined to sit still, but the town grew very uneasy, nobody putting in, and at last towards the day were in a great ferment, the like never known in this place, in short though I did not ask one vote nor spend one farthing, they forced me out of my house to appear with them, and to the number of a thousand men resolved to choose me as they said, when at the same time not above one or two hundred attended him. The Poll began and I had two hundred before he had fifty, but then his friends fell to open bribery in the streets and elsewhere, which succeeded far beyond their own expectations, and I spending nothing, not so much as a pint of ale, they got up with me, and about five o'clock were about 80 ahead of me. I had about 500 and he had 580, and although there remained a great many unpolled, I gave it up, not having the spirit of opposition in me as some may suggest, though Mr. Thompson himself owned that I could not avoid appearing if ever I would show my face again, and indeed it was unavoidable at this time. He is indeed returned, but in law and equity is no more member than you are, nor is his personal interest worth a farthing. He was insulted to the last degree, but I will say no more, and am

Yr, affec brother,

Tancred Robinson

(NH 2501)

Although Tancred retired from the election, and notwithstanding his protestations to the Walpoles, he made a second protest against the result, but his petition to the Commons was again ineffectual. In spite of the high moral tone which Robinson used

in these appeals, it seems safe to conclude that he lost because, although he used much the same methods as did his rivals, he used them less intensively in the 1722 election, and so failed to attract the freemen, and that in 1725 he withdrew before the polling was complete because of his opponent's lavish expenditure. Although it is not possible to judge the truth of Robinson's claim that in 1725 he did not buy any burgess so much as a pint of ale, it may be significant that whereas among the records is a complete record of the half guineas which he expended during the earlier election, and a bundle of innkeepers' bills, there are no such accounts for the second occasion, and yet his claim to have secured 500 votes is borne out by a list of 496 burgesses, with their addresses and occupations, who gave him their support. Robinson evidently used the list to compare his performance in the two elections, as he had also recorded against each burgess the way he had voted in the 1722 election. This shows that of the 496 supporters recorded, as many as 82 had not voted in the earlier election, an increase hardly to be accounted for by normal population changes. It seems probable that Robinson was outfaced by this rapid and dubious increase in an electorate whose support had to be bought. The general impression created by examining the Letters is that he was economical, perhaps parsimonious, and that the election documents show that although his family's standing was high, he was not prepared to sustain it at such high and mounting cost. But Sir William was still loth to allow the family's political influence to lapse, and when the accession of George II in 1727 made a new election necessary, all three sons, Metcalfe, Tancred and Thomas were approached by their sister Ann in the hope that one of them would maintain the family tradition. None of them was agreeable, Tancred's reply reading,

I am no ways inclined to it, the disappointments I have formerly met with have quite discouraged me from any attempt of this kind, therefore I do altogether decline it. Those that undertake this difficult task I hope will have more success than I have had. In the meantime, I hope this will not be disagreeable to you.

(NH 2861/10)

Sir William accepted this as final, but again desired Tancred to support either of his brothers who might stand. In the event, neither of them did so and the Robinson 'interest' in York ended, though Tancred continued to exert some influence, as when sixteen years later Thompson, who was by that time a member of the Board of Admiralty, was again a candidate in York, and met with enough hostile canvassing from Tancred to incur a rebuke from Admiral Sir Charles Wager, who considered that Robinson should not make matters difficult for a member of the Board. Apart from this Tancred took little part in later elections, though he continued to participate in the civic affairs of York, until his death in 1754.

#### RETIREMENT.

The urgent business which had brought the admiral home was the death of his elder brother Metcalfe, soon after that of his father Sir William. Until Metcalfe's death made Tancred head of the family he probably had no intention of retiring from the Navy, though the letters show that he was hoping to secure a shore establishment rather than a more active command at sea. But the problems arising from the settlement of the family estates were to prove intractable and prolonged, so that he had no further naval service even in 1739, when war with Spain was renewed. Although there was then a desperate shortage of senior officers, the Board of Admiralty did not find him employment, so that his return from Lisbon proved to mark the end of his naval career. However, Admiral Hagar's superannuation at the time of Edward

Vernon's promotion from captain to vice-admiral of the blue allowed Robinson's advancement to rear-admiral of the white. Vernon captured Porto Bello, now in Panama, but during the subsequent unsuccessful campaign in the West Indies both Tancred's brothers William and John, both serving in the army, died of fever there.

The conflicting wills of his father and elder brother led to a quarrel between Tancred and his brother Thomas which kept them apart until near the end of their lives, with Tancred aloof in York devoting his time to the development of the Robinson estates, while Thomas held government posts in London. For the remaining years of his life Tancred's declining health compelled him to spend much time at spas, and even when he was at home he had spa water sent to him, as when his son William, himself taking the waters, shipped a supply from Bristol to Hull. The apothecaries of York were sending him accounts whose length is evidence of the persistence of his search for remedies.

The letters convey the impression that throughout his adult life Tancred was extremely careful in husbanding his resources, and he was meticulous in keeping accounts with explanatory comments for his own information. The rough account book which he kept while serving in Portugal not only contains an entry about entrusting a fellow captain, whose ship was about to visit Genoa, with 20 moidores for the purchase of crimson damask for a bed, but has the additional note: 'I got the damask safe'. Further instances are to be found in the details of the wages of servants employed on his ships, necessary because officers paid and found clothing for their own servants. For example, he had bought Thomas Timson shoes, stockings and a shirt, and when Timson deserted he noted that he had lost their cost minus the arrears of pay owed to his servant.

When he took charge of the family estates Tancred found that his father had been making a Christmas gift of £5 a year to the poor of Topcliffe, 'in order that they might not be troublesome in begging at the door, as they usually have been'. Tancred continued the practice, though in 1738 no payment was made 'because I did not live there that summer'. In 1742 and 1743 he reduced the amount to £4, to £3 in 1744 and to £2 10s. in 1745 and 1746. In March 1744 he made a note:

I must consider how to order this matter so, that this gift may not be claimed as due of right to the poor, and the more so because in the parish of St. Olave's [York], where I live in winter, something of that sort is now attempted.

(NH 2316E)

Robinson's records of his landed estates are as carefully maintained as those of his other financial transactions, and with similar notes of justification, as when William Baxter of Rainton rebuilt a barn without his landlord's knowledge or consent and Tancred only allowed him three guineas towards the expense of £8 14s.<sup>7</sup>

The letters show that in his last years Tancred's relations with his brother improved to the extent that Frankland, who transacted much business for the absent Thomas, reported that 'He was very civil and talked much of you and your children'. In 1749, when Thomas returned to England with his family, he was too occupied in setting up his London house to visit Yorkshire, but sent his son, also named Thomas, to make the acquaintance of his relatives at Hovingham, and suggested to Anne Worsley that the boy might call on his uncle in York: 'Pray let it be insinuated to Sir Tancred that the child is in town and will wait upon him with pleasure and according to my order, if permitted. If my brother does not allow it, he shall not say it was my fault. If he does, I shall be extremely pleased'. The visit was indeed made and the boy well received.

7. NH 2197.

Tancred's son William also came to be on friendly terms with the rest of the family, to the extent that after his father's death, when his own precarious health compelled him to live at spas, he leased the principal family residence of Newby Park to his uncle. Sir Tancred's wife Mary died in 1748 (they had married c.1710), after which he lived mainly at the King's Manor in York, probably spending most of his time with his unmarried daughter, Alethea. He died in 1754. His sons, Norton and William, both died childless, so that Tancred's branch of the family ended with their generation, and their share of the family estates, divided between their father and his brother, Thomas, was reversed, with the latter, now Lord Grantham, inheriting both portions.

Tancred's son, now Sir William, the fourth baronet, erected a memorial to his father in the family church of St. Crux, paying £100 for it to the architect John Carr and the sculptor Robert Avray.<sup>8</sup> The church was demolished in 1887, but some monuments, including that of Sir Tancred and his funeral hatchment, were preserved in the parish room on the site. The memorial consists of a marble obelisk with near the top, in a cartouche below a helmet, the coat of arms of Robinson with an escutcheon of pretence of Norton. At the base is a sarcophagus which bears on its side the hat, crossed sword and mace indicating the office of Lord Mayor of York; on top of this are a portrait medallion of Sir Tancred held by a seated cherub, a cannon, shot, cross staff and anchor. The inscription, on a panel between the brackets supporting the sarcophagus, reads:

To the Memory  
of Sr. TANCRED ROBINSON  
of Newby upon Swale in the North Riding  
of this County Baronett  
who rose thro' all the several gradations to the  
Rank of a Flag Officer in his Majesty's Navy  
and after having enjoyed the Chief civil Offices  
of this Corporation, & that of Lord Mayor twice  
died Father of the City the 3rd. September 1754  
in the 68th. Year of his Age  
And was Buried here near his Wife  
Dame Mary, Daughter & Sole Heiress  
of Rowland Norton of Disforth  
in this County, Esqr.

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8. York Reference Library, M31/375. See also RCHM, *City of York V. The Central Area* (1981), p. 11b, pl. 45; K. Esdaile, 'Sculptors and Sculpture in Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 35 (1940-42), pp. 362-88; 36 (1944-47), pp. 78-108; pp. 137-63, esp. p. 381. J. B. Morrell, *York Monuments* (1944), pp. 60-61, pl. LVII. Tancred Robinson was Lord Mayor of York in 1718 and 1738, having served as a sheriff in 1715.

## RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN THE DIOCESES OF RIPON AND WAKEFIELD 1970 - 1990

by Lawrence Butler

The publication of an investigation at Crofton church in the recent *Journal* (62, 125-132) was the product of the author's membership of the Wakefield Diocesan Advisory Committee. The work of this committee and of its parallel body in Ripon diocese has produced a steady stream of watching briefs and opportunities for archaeological observations over the past twenty years. This article identifies the main trends in that work and comments upon specific cases.

The first problem is that the dioceses do not correspond to county or local district boundaries and so work falls within the catchment areas of various archaeological units, museums and record offices. Secondly the local diocesan boundaries are of relatively recent creation and so archives that may throw light on architectural changes have to be sought in various locations. Ripon diocese was created in 1836, partly out of York diocese and partly out of Chester diocese. The latter, itself a new creation in 1541, contained the three eastern deaneries in the archdeaconry of Richmond, namely Boroughbridge, Catterick and Richmond. In 1888 the diocese of Wakefield was created, mostly out of York diocese, but partly out of Ripon. Subsequent changes occurred when the dioceses of Sheffield (1914) and Bradford (1919) were established.

The creation of these four new dioceses was largely a response to the increased population in the industrial valleys and urban centres of west and south Yorkshire. The nineteenth-century bishops of Ripon were extremely active in founding new churches and designating new parishes. The present Ripon diocese shows the contrast between the industrial south in the Aire valley around Leeds and the rural north stretching from the Wharfe to the Tees. Wakefield diocese displays a similar contrast between the industrial textile valleys of the west and the rural landscape to the east of Pontefract as far as the Ouse basin. The contrast between medieval structures and later buildings is equally striking. In Ripon diocese south of the Wharfe are 8 medieval churches and chapels compared to 78 post-Reformation buildings; north of the Wharfe there are 89 medieval buildings compared to 93 post-Reformation chapels, most of the latter are at hamlets in large parishes with only Harrogate, Knaresborough and Ripon showing any suburban or secondary growth. The proportions are similar in Wakefield; west of that city there are 17 medieval churches and 145 post-Reformation structures, while east of Wakefield are 26 medieval churches and 54 post-Reformation chapels.

These totals are important (Ripon: 268; Wakefield: 242) because the work of the Advisory Committees involves changes to structures and furnishings at all the churches in regular use, not just at those churches considered to be architecturally important. Similarly many of the changes introduced by faculty legislation or by archdeacons' certificates involve aesthetic judgements rather than archaeological considerations. Alterations and additions stem from the wishes of the parishioners, the gifts of local benefactors and the liturgical preferences of the incumbents. Sometimes schemes are over-ambitious for the resources of the parish and have to be scaled down or

abandoned. Furthermore the submission of quinquennial reports by the appointed church architects provides a safety net of inspection which should identify damp penetration, dry rot and the deterioration of the fabric before the problems grow beyond the capacity of the parish to raise the necessary funds. State aid is now available for a few architecturally important churches. The two less predictable hazards are fire and theft. No medieval church has suffered serious fire damage since Kirkby Malzeard (R; W.R.) was gutted in 1908.<sup>1</sup> Thieves have removed lead from the roofs of isolated churches in the hinterland of Middlesbrough and have stolen the bells from Swillington (R; W.R.).<sup>2</sup> Storm damage to pinnacles and parapets, as at Ainderby Steeple, has usually been conservatively repaired.

## EXCAVATION AND ALTERATION

In contrast to the major repairs and enlargements undertaken in the Victorian period, there have been relatively few recent alterations at churches of medieval date still in parochial use. The Victorians inserted new heating systems which substantially disturbed the interior floor levels of their churches. The only major scheme of this kind was at Kirkheaton (W; W.R.) necessitating major excavation, but apart from revealing a strainer arch with vertically pitched stones laid as a foundation wall below the chancel arch, there was confirmation for the sequence of development already postulated by Tolson,<sup>3</sup> based on his observations made at the substantial restoration in 1887-8. Other internal alterations have generally been small in scale: the re-ordering of the chancel at Crofton (W; W.R.), a similar re-ordering at Whitkirk (R; W.R.) where it was possible to confirm the accuracy of earlier observations by Kirk,<sup>4</sup> a re-ordering of the chancel at Penistone (W; W.R.) which removed the Victorian alterations to floor-levels and furnishings, the refurbishing of the vestry at Rothwell (R; W.R.) in which the late fifteenth-century east window of the north aisle was exposed<sup>5</sup> and a reflooring at Marrick (R; N.R.). Four substantial pieces of work were the total excavation of the interior of Tong (B; W.R.) by the West Yorkshire Archaeological Service in which were exposed the various phases of the medieval church prior to its complete rebuilding in 1727, the total excavation of the interior at Hickleton (S; W.R.) by the South Yorkshire Archaeological Unit in which the processes of expansion within the medieval church were explored, the total excavation and the rebuilding of the tower at Kellington (W; W.R.) in which many unsuspected features were exposed before underpinning, and the observations by the author and by Peter Ryder during re-ordering at the east end of Royston (W; W.R.) in which a medieval altar-slab, re-used medieval gravestones and a late Anglo-Saxon cross-head fragment were recorded. All these works and those at Wakefield Cathedral will be the subject of fuller reports by the respective site directors.

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1. Y.A.J. 20, 242-250. For ease of reference to the volumes of Pevsner (Buildings of England series) and of Morris (Little Guides) the churches are identified by the initial letters of both diocese (Bradford, Ripon, Sheffield, Wakefield, York) and of county (North Riding, West Riding).
  2. An Anglo-Saxon cross fragment was stolen from High Hoyland (W; W.R.).
  3. L. Tolson, *The History of the church of St. John the Baptist, Kirkheaton and the annals of the parish* (Huddersfield, 1929), 20-29. Plan deposited at Tolson Museum; photographs by R. Yarwood at West Yorkshire Archaeological Service, Wakefield.
  4. G. E. Kirk, *A history of the parish church of St. Mary, Whitkirk* (1935), 80-83; see also Y.A.J. 30 (1931), 184-5.
  5. G. E. Kirk, *The church of Holy Trinity, Rothwell* (1947); in an earlier repair programme all the floorboards beneath the Victorian pews were renewed from underneath. No new information about the medieval fabric was then obtained. The restoration in 1890 had been severe. However the Anglo-Saxon cross fragment was inserted in a wall surface where it now suffers from rising damp and has deteriorated; Leeds City Museum has a plaster cast taken when it was first discovered, and this shows the full extent of the later damage.

There have been much easier conditions for archaeological work at medieval churches no longer in parochial use and now placed in the care of the Redundant Churches Fund. Allerton Mauleverer, Harewood and Stainburn (all R; W.R.) have been the subject of recent excavations. In each case an integrated survey of the documentary sources, architectural evidence and archaeological material casts new light on the development of the church.<sup>6</sup>

The stripping of wall plaster from the nave during repairs at Kippax (R; W.R.) and from the aisles at Patrick Brompton (R; N.R.) has enabled fresh deductions to be made upon the development of the structures. Alterations to the north aisle at South Kirkby (W; W.R.) did not provide any new information. The conversion of the crypt at St. Peter's, Huddersfield (W; W.R.) into an assembly room showed that the 1834-6 rebuilding had removed all evidence of the medieval structure except for the west tower. The current programme of rebuilding at Todmorden (W; W.R.) allows the sequence of rebuilding to be observed but there is as yet no evidence for a pre-Reformation structure.

### CHURCHYARD EXCAVATION

Two categories of disturbance to ground and fabric which are potentially destructive and may yield archaeological evidence are dry area trenching around external walls<sup>7</sup> and the provision of essential services such as electricity, gas and water. Trenching has been undertaken at Aldborough, Ledsham, Spennithorne, Whixley and Ripon St. Mary Magdalene. At Aldborough (R; W.R.) the work was limited to the base of the tower and the west walls of the aisles and yielded no new information although the latest Roman ground surface is close to the modern churchyard surface; at Ledsham (Y; W.R.) trenching exposed the ground level from which the 1871 restoration started;<sup>8</sup> at Spennithorne (R; N.R.) work outside the north aisle, together with internal reflooring, was shallow and uninformative; and at Whixley (R; W.R.) work around the whole of the exterior provided no fresh information on the building sequence. Trenching around the hospital chapel of St. Mary Magdalene on the north side of Ripon revealed the fifteenth-century expansion of the thirteenth-century chapel (already evident in the above-ground structure), exposed the junction of a sacristy added to the north wall and indicated areas of post-medieval repair in brick of an eighteenth-century character but probably inserted in late nineteenth-century repairs. Heating ducts have pierced the medieval walls at Thorner, tower north wall (R; W.R.) and at Bolton Abbey, north aisle, north wall (B; W.R.) where a service trench across the churchyard was also observed. Drainage trenches at Stanwick (R; N.R.), West Tanfield (R; W.R.) and Well (R; N.R.) have been cut within the churchyard but at less than 60 cm. depth to avoid graves. Water supply and waste disposal trenches have been dug at Knaresborough (R; W.R.) through already disturbed ground, at East Witton (R; N.R.) through the undisturbed churchyard of 1809 and at Bardsey (R; W.R.) through the west wall of the tower. This last location was of potential interest since the external face of the masonry suggested the existence of a west door, though the ghost roof line indicated

6. Allerton Mauleverer *Y.A.J.*, 50, (1978), 177-188, Warmsworth *Y.A.J.* 55, (1983), 27-59; D. R. Hey and J. R. Magilton, Harewood *Y.A.J.*, 58, (1986), 85-108, Stainburn *Bulletin of C.B.A. Churches Committee*, 10, (1979), 9-15; a fuller report by R. K. Morris is forthcoming. The problem of redundant churches is discussed by R. K. Morris, Redundant churches and the historic landscape, in R. T. Rowley and M. Breakell, *Planning and the Historic Environment*, II (1977), 94-119; and more generally by L. Butler, Church Archaeology and the Work of the C.B.A. Churches Committee, in D. Hinton, *25 Years of Medieval Archaeology* (1983), 117-126, and by W. Rodwell, *The Archaeology of the English Church* (1981), 38-40.

7. R. Morris, *Churches and Archaeology* (1978), illustrates the damage such trenching may cause.

8. L. Butler in *J.B.A.A.*, 140 (1987), 199-203.

that the tower had been raised above a west porch.<sup>9</sup> There was no evidence for any structure further west; its south wall might have been encountered if there were an outer porch. There was also no clear evidence for a west doorway though the wall below the ground floor west window had been repaired in Victorian times. The service trench on the north side of Felkirk (W; W.R.) revealed an area of building debris from the north aisle alterations close to the (now blocked) north door and uncovered the stone built roof of the Galway vault outside the north-east angle of the north chapel. It is unfortunate that no plan or full record has survived of C. V. Bellamy's work in 1964 on the north side of Woodkirk (W; W.R.) where an Augustinian priory was attached to the church.<sup>10</sup>

### TOMBS AND VAULTS.

There have been a few occasions where minor works have given the opportunity to record features temporarily exposed. During reflooring at Croft (R; N.R.) it was possible to establish that the massive tomb chest of Sir Richard Clervaux (died 1490) had been re-assembled in a Victorian restoration and overlay the tomb vault containing three Chaytor coffins of 1847, 1855 and 1859.<sup>11</sup> During restoration of the alabaster tombs at Methley (R; W.R.) it was clear that the tomb of Sir Robert Waterton (died 1424) had previously been dismantled in the Victorian restoration, but that the tomb of Lord Welles (died 1461) had not been disturbed since 1600 and contained in its filling material part of a half-round shaft which probably came from an early fifteenth-century arch into the south chancel chapel and a chamfered step predating the early seventeenth-century repaving of the chapel. The restoration of a mid fifteenth-century alabaster tomb at Thornhill (W; W.R.) also showed evidence of Victorian dismantling during the restoration of 1877 and included the preservation of three thirteenth-century floor-slabs by their deliberate incorporation into the base of the tomb at pavement level; other medieval and later carved details were used as packing material. During drainage works at Easby (R; N.R.) the entrance to the Jaques vault of 1830 was discovered and details of the five burials (1832-1911) were recorded; it was clear that Sir Gilbert Scott's restoration of 1868 had been extremely drastic within the chancel. No earlier walls were encountered in the drainage trenches. Wall tablets have been recorded before destruction at Hunslet St. Mary (R; W.R.) and while in danger of vandalism at Skelton St. Helen (R; W.R.). Benefaction boards have been recorded prior to destruction at Holbeck St. Matthew (R; W.R.) and during storage at Kirkby Malzeard (R; W.R.).

### FITTINGS AND FURNISHINGS

An interesting history is attached to woodwork rescued from York Minster after the fire of 1839. Medieval pinnacles and carved angels, probably from the choir stalls, were incorporated with other later carving into a wooden reredos screen for St. John's, New Wortley, Leeds; at the demolition of that church in 1960 they were placed behind a side altar in Holbeck St. Matthew and after the secularisation of the latter church they were transferred to Masham for use as a tower screen.<sup>12</sup> An even larger collection of

9. H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* I (1965), 39-40.

10. *Medieval Archaeology*, 9 (1965), 183.

11. I am grateful to Mr. W. D. Chaytor for inviting me to inspect the work at Croft. For the Clervaux tomb, see *Y.A.J.*, 50 (1978), 166-169.

12. This type of transference is fairly common when churches are closed down. There is an understandable reluctance to destroy or sell fine workmanship or objects with personal associations within the parish. By such means surviving mother churches acquire the fonts, war memorials, altar tables and church plate of their demolished daughter chapels. Luddenden now has 4 fonts. In Wakefield diocese a disused church provides a store for any unwanted furniture which might at some future date be needed by another parish.

woodwork from York Minster is now at Roecliffe (R; W.R.) in a neo-Norman church of 1843. In discussing furnishings and fittings mention should be made of the useful work of recording undertaken by members of NADFAS in the county. Although there are full records of medieval and later bells, of medieval and later church plate, of some medieval tombs and of imposing post-medieval monuments and wall-tablets, there is no authoritative guide to medieval and pre-Victorian glass, no survey of ancient bell-frames or clocks and no list of funeral armour so that casual losses could be monitored.<sup>13</sup> The church notes of earlier heralds and antiquaries in the mid to late seventeenth-century (especially Dodsworth, Johnston and Torre) are far from comprehensive in their geographical coverage.<sup>14</sup> The fuller notes of Stephen Glynne (now at St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden) were published without the marginal sketches which accompanied many of his observations.<sup>15</sup>

### CHURCHYARD RECORDING

The recording of churchyard memorials has usually preceded schemes of 'rationalising' or re-ordering churchyards.<sup>16</sup> In many cases the Family History Section of the Y.A.S. or students at the Archaeology Department of Leeds University have been responsible for recording and planning e.g. Armley, Hunslet, Methley, Rothwell); other schemes have been done on private initiative (Leeds St. Peter, Leeds St. John, Holbeck St. Matthew, Knaresborough) or through the parochial church council (Bramley St. Peter, Bishop Monkton). Schemes of recording have also preceded the building of the chapter house at Wakefield Cathedral and the building of church meeting rooms at Harrogate Christ Church and Pannal (R; W.R.) Recording has preceded minor clearances at Burneston, Middlesmoor and Thorner. The maintenance of post-medieval table tombs is a recurrent problem throughout the region; erosion and partial displacement of lids poses a problem of safety to children playing hide-and-seek in overgrown churchyards, while the rooting of saplings and brambles causes a problem for any parish seeking to make their churchyard tidy and easy to manage rather than allow it to degenerate into a wilderness.<sup>17</sup> A related problem of recording was undertaken at Lead (Y; W.R.) where the rose-garden laid out after the excavation at the east end had become overgrown and it was wished to preserve a medieval grave-slab in a new arrangement.<sup>18</sup>

### NEW CHURCHES AND OLD SITES

When the Victorians rebuilt churches and chapels they sometimes chose a new site alongside the existing structure. The old church was then demolished and its site infilled with burials whose headstones all post-date the Victorian building. Churchyard clearance, if incautiously permitted, can destroy evidence which may not be available

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13. A pair of funeral gauntlets were lost after being lent out for use in a village historical pageant and never returned to the church.
  14. Roger Dodsworth: *Yorkshire Church Notes 1619-1631*, YASRS XXXIV, 1904; Henry Johnston: *Yorkshire church notes and drawings*, Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS. Top. Yorks. C13-14; James Torre, *York Minster Library*, MS. L.1 (1-10).
  15. Sir Stephen Glynne: church notes, *Y.A.J.* 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26; index: 26, 296-299.
  16. J. Jones, *How to record Graveyards* (3rd ed., 1985) shows general principles, while P. Rahtz and L. Watts, *Wharham Percy: The Memorial Stones of the Churchyard* (1983) gives a detailed study.
  17. P. Burman and H. Stapleton, *The Churchyards Handbook* (3rd edn., 1988), pp. 120-140, discuss the environmental aspects of the churchyard; see also G. M. A. Barker, *Wildlife conservation in the care of churches and churchyards* (Church Information Office, 1972). There have been some botanical surveys of churchyards in west Yorkshire to identify those possessing the most interesting ranges of flora and those which form oases of undisturbed vegetation amid intensive agriculture.
  18. *Y.A.J.*, 32, 321-325.

from any other source. Service trenches will need to be routed away from the earlier church site. Occasionally its location is clearly indicated (e.g. Armley, Bramley, East Cowton, Hunsingore); more often the approximate site is known (e.g. Holbeck, Headingley), but sometimes it is quite unknown (e.g. Garforth). These instances are now being systematically recorded.

Another recording task concerns those medieval ruins still standing within the churchyard at Heptonstall and Mirfield (both W; W.R.); others stand in abandoned medieval churchyards at Barton St. Marys (R; N.R.) Brignall (R; N.R.) and Pateley Bridge (R; W.R.). Post-medieval structures survive at Bishop Thornton (R; W.R.), Ramsgill (R; W.R.) and Stallingbusk (R; N.R.), the last named is of interest as a rare example of an early seventeenth-century twin-aisled chapel with the bay partition north-south, rather than the usual east-west division as at Leeds St. John.<sup>19</sup>

## NEW USES

Mention has already been made of church redundancies; this problem has been particularly severe in inner Leeds with nine nineteenth-century churches being demolished since 1960; in the industrial valleys of Calderdale there has been a smaller number of demolitions in Wakefield diocese, usually after serious vandalism to the shuttered and padlocked church.<sup>20</sup> By contrast in the rural areas it is usually possible to find new uses for the redundant structures. In Richmond the medieval church of Holy Trinity has been converted into a museum for the Green Howards Regiment; the chapel built at Langthorn in 1877 to serve a township in Bedale parish has been altered to residential use. The rural medieval chapels suffered from a loss of income at the Reformation: there was no revenue to pay a priest nor any mechanism by which to channel repair funds for the structure. Two examples are Thrintoft, now incorporated into a barn, and Swinithwaite, where the foundations survive.<sup>21</sup> They were less ambitious than the grange chapel at Bewerley near Pateley Bridge, where the sixteenth-century chapel has been restored to use and the adjoining house is still lived in.

## CONCLUSION

The Victorian enthusiasm for archaeology was mainly the product of clergymen and benefactors eager to understand medieval structures so that they could rebuild their churches, and sometimes their vicarages, in a correct Gothic fashion purged of all later additions of a pagan classical character.<sup>22</sup> The modern archaeologist prefers to record all periods of the past so that evidence which would otherwise be lost is available for students of former cultures. It is, however, a matter for discussion whether the subject is better advanced by a few thorough church excavations at sites randomly chosen by the accidents of subsidence, restoration or new styles of worship, or by a multitude of

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19. Early 17th-century chapels have often been drastically restored as at Muker (R; N.R.), have had their internal balance altered as at Great Houghton (S; W.R.) or stand in ruins: Harwood Dale (Y; N.R.). Only the chapels at Bramhope (R; W.R.), Midhopestones (W; W.R.) and Barden Tower (W.R.) show their original character. The originality of design in the hospital chapels is now visible only at Beamsley (W.R.) since those at Kirkthorpe or Warmfield (W.R.) and Firby near Bedale (N.R.) have been converted to domestic use.
  20. K. Powell, *The New Iconoclasts* (1981), but see review in *Bulletin of C.B.A. Churches Committee*, 16 (1982), 10-11.
  21. For excavated parochial chapels, see G. Coppack, 'An excavation at Chapel Garth, Bolton, Fangfoss', *Y.A.J.*, 50 (1978), 93-101, and E. Klingelhofer, *The Deserted Medieval Village of Broadfield, Herts.* B.A.R., 2, 1974, 16-30, 34.
  22. S. Piggott, 'The origins of the county archaeological societies', in *Ruins in a Landscape* (1976), 171-95, esp. 175-83.

casual observations during small scale works of repair. For the fullest understanding of ecclesiastical development in both structures and society it would seem that the two categories of archaeological work are complementary and equally necessary.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article could not have been written without the kind co-operation, over many years, of the various members of the two Diocesan Advisory Committees, especially the Chairmen, the Secretaries (Ripon: formerly Squadron-Leader Peter Driver, and now Glyn Royal; Wakefield: Dr. John Addy), the four Archdeacons, the registrars and the architects, especially Peter Hill, Peter Marshall and Gerald Wood. During the period under consideration both committees have had a number of chairmen and all four archdeacons have changed through retirement or promotion. All have been unfailingly sympathetic to the archaeological dimensions of ecclesiastical and architectural history.

## AERIAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN YORKSHIRE: A 'STARFISH' SITE.

by Anthony Crawshaw

This photograph, taken in February 1987, shows a site (SE637475) just to the south of Fulford Golf Course, near York. The seven irregular ovals, of apparently random spacing and orientation, are picked out by standing water in their ditches. The enclosures were described as "slight earthworks" in 1966, which seems to be when they entered the archaeological record (H. G. Ramm, 1967). At that time there were nine of them. The earliest air photograph yet found dates to 29th. April, 1942 when there was no trace of the ovals, which had appeared by December 1946.

On morphological grounds these ovals could be taken to be of prehistoric date. However, the sharpness of the earthworks casts some doubt on this interpretation. Other possible explanations include agricultural features, such as the cattle folds suggested in the 1967 reference or enclosures associated with the rabbit warrens in the area. The legend 'Rabbit Warrens' appears on the 1st. Edition 6" to 1 mile Ordnance Survey map of 1851, just to the north of the present site. In addition, a recently demolished farm at SE634485 was called 'Warren House'. However, both these uses are rendered less likely by the annotation 'liable to be flooded' that appears on this blank area in the 1851 map. Just to the north, the area in the background of this photograph, is marked as 'Furze and Heath'. I would submit that the slightly higher ground now occupied by part of Fulford Golf Course was the site of the rabbit warrens.

Local hearsay has it that there was a World War II diversionary fire for York somewhere to the south-east of the city, but was not specific as to site. These fires were designed to be lit after a first wave of bombers had attacked the target, so as to draw subsequent bombs onto themselves, in the belief that these fires were started by the first wave. Enquiries at the Public Records Office, Kew, turned up a number of documents relating to this decoy programme, codenamed 'Starfish'. By good fortune, one of these (Air 14 2780) is the file from 4 Bomber Group, based in York, relating to



Fig.1. Earthworks S. of Fulford Golf Course, 1987.

the 'Temporary Starfish' for the protection of York. The latitude and longitude are given as  $53^{\circ} 55' 10''$  N and  $1^{\circ} 1' 50''$  W, which is in the middle of the photograph. The grid reference is given as 27/108673 (This reference is in the old military system, formed by superimposing a kilometre grid on sheet 27 of the pre-WWII 1" scale map). This seems to be the only individual 'Starfish' site for which records have survived, as opposed to the overall programme.

The 'Temporary Starfish' sites were constructed in response to Luftwaffe attacks on historic towns, the so-called "Baedeker raids". York was bombed on April 29th. 1942 and the first reference to a decoy site for York is in a list dated 12th. May 1942 (Air 20 4352). The site became operational on 15th. May 1942 and consisted of 40 large baskets of inflammable material, electrically fired from a remote shelter. The fires burnt for 1 hour and were constructed by Messrs. J. Gerard & Son Ltd. of Manchester. The installations were designed by the special effects department at Shepperton Film Studios, where those in charge were based. A local resident, Don Ward, remembers the site and the fire baskets as being large packing cases filled with shavings soaked in diesel fuel. Although there is no specific mention of the ditches surrounding the fires, other references suggest that these were to stop the fires getting out of control. The only contemporary aerial photograph of a Starfish site yet traced (Air 41 3) shows sub-rectangular ditched enclosures. No plans seem to have survived. A Starfish site on Sneaton Moor, south of Whitby, has been tentatively identified as at NZ905030. This last site appears on a vertical survey carried out in 1973 and in Cambridge University photographs of 1968. These photographs show a site of similar overall area to the Fulford site, but with larger ovals at closer spacings and some internal subdivisions. This appearance is consistent with the documentary evidence that Sneaton Moor was one of the larger Strategic Starfish sites (Air 20 4352).

I have not found any trace of the shelter for the operators, which would have been at least 800 yards from the nearest fire (Air 20 5213). This shelter would have been comparable in size to a domestic garden bomb shelter, but with cable ducts and, probably, an observation hatch in the roof. A possible site is at SE638479, where there is a scatter of bricks that mark the site of what was described by a local resident as an 'odd little building'. Against this identification is the fact that this building had a pitched roof, as shown in an aerial photograph of 1984 by Dr. P. V. Addyman.

There is no record of the site having been lit, or attacked, but this is not conclusive, as the records are incomplete. Thus, there is also no record of the site having been abandoned; the last positive reference to it is on 19th. December 1942. On 21st. May 1942 there is a note that a second 'Starfish' site for York was being sought, together with a 'QL' site. 'QL' sites were designed to simulate poor blackout, open doors, tramcar flashes, etc., in order to convince enemy aircrew that they were over a city or industrial site. In fact, neither were built, as a letter dated 1st. June 1942 states. There was, however, a 'QL' site at Upper Poppleton, which was to simulate the L.N.E.R. marshalling yards at York (Air 14 254).

Although the Fulford site was only operational briefly, it and its records are an interesting survival from troubled times. Given that there were 235 'Starfish' sites nationwide, I wonder how many others appear in the archaeological record?

I would like to thank staff at the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, North Yorkshire County Council and York Archaeological Trust for assistance in searching for photographs. Thanks are also due to Dr. R. M. Butler for helpful comments on this manuscript.

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References in brackets, such as (Air 14 2780), are the document numbers at the Public Records Office, Kew, London.

## DR ARTHUR RAISTRICK

Arthur Raistrick, who died on 9th April 1991 at the age of 94, was born in Titus Salt's mill town of Saltaire, but came from a stock of Dales sheep farmers and lead miners. The study of the Pennines was to be one of the unifying factors in a life of great diversity. He went as a scholarship boy to Bradford Grammar School, and thence to Leeds University where he graduated in Mining and Engineering, subsequently obtaining an M.Sc. and Ph.D. He taught at King's College, Newcastle on Tyne, retiring as Reader in Geology in 1956, but his researches extended throughout the northern counties and he regularly conducted extra-mural classes for the Universities of Leeds, Newcastle and Durham, as well as for the W.E.A.

Towards the end of his long and remarkably full life the Universities of Leeds and Bradford each awarded him an Honorary Doctorate. He was the first recipient of the Y.A.S. Silver Medal, instituted for services to Yorkshire archaeology, of which he was a fitting first exemplar. He was a member of the Society's Council from 1931 to 1943, and a contributor to its *Journal*.

His three contributions (in Vols 29, 32 and 34) were part of an impressive corpus of research in Pennine geology, natural history, industrial history and agricultural history that appeared in more than a dozen different learned journals. No aspect of the Pennines was outside his territory, above or below ground. He claimed that his work had taken him down more than 700 coalmines. Above ground, walking the moors and dales was his study and his pleasure, and he was a true multi-disciplinary field worker, accumulating a fount of detailed knowledge, and becoming a much-admired teacher and inspirer of research by others. He had the art of addressing a wider audience than most academics through his WEA and extra Mural classes, which he continued into his seventies, and through his many contributions to the *Dalesman* and to Dalesman Publications.

He was a Fellow and twice medallist of the Geological Society, and medallist of the Scottish Geological Society. Much of this work was on coal seams, which brought him into sympathetic contact with the mining communities. He was frequently an expert witness in compensation claims after accidents, took part in several rescues after disasters, and during the depression and the General Strike was prominent in organising Quaker social and educational work in the coalfields.

No account of him can omit his political and social outlook, unified here by his membership of the Society of Friends. He remained loyal to the original pacifist and internationalist traditions of the I.L.P., with its Bradford roots, and was court martialled and imprisoned for three years as a conscientious objector. Later in life he rejected offers of honours from Harold Wilson after the Labour Party had accepted nuclear weapons. Yet, like many Friends, he was militant for the causes in which he believed: he must share with Guy Fawkes the distinction of being the only Yorkshire man who has been burned in effigy in Grassington market place. He had offended some local farmers who resented his championship of rights of way and public access to commons and moorland, and his efforts (in alliance with Labour county councillors from the distant mining villages of the West Riding) to activate the powers of the Dales National Parks Committee. He was the editor and principal contributor of the North Yorkshire National Park Handbook.

He had many students, of all ages, and inspired great affection. One contact is especially remarkable, that with William Hoskins. During the latter's first post as an assistant lecturer in economics at Bradford Technical College (1930-31, an experience so purgatorial that he omitted it from his entry in *Who's Who*), he attended Raistrick's

classes in local archaeology. Hoskins' undergraduate studies for the B.Sc. Econ. had not included archaeology, and his postgraduate work at University College, Exeter had been in the history of Devon industry, not agriculture. In 1989 Arthur casually mentioned to me in conversation that his classes had helped to set William off towards the eventual *Making of the English Landscape*.

Although by that time William was too unwell to respond effectively to a request for corroboration, it may be significant that his first extra mural classes after moving from Bradford to Leicester in 1931 were in archaeology, as was his first paper for that county's Archaeological Society; that he frequently came back in the days of his greater fame to lecture at Arthur's residential courses at Malham, and drew on Arthur's work on Malham for one of his BBC TV *English Landscapes*; and that as General Editor of the Hodder and Stoughton *English Landscape* county series it was to Arthur that he entrusted the West Riding volume (1970).

There is an interesting postlude, alas, posthumous for both men: the sale catalogue of Arthur's books (R. F. G. Hollett & Son, Sedbergh. *Occasional List No. 47* (1991)) notes some of the comments and pencil corrections with which Arthur liked to embellish margins. In the copy of *The Landscape of the West Riding* which William presented to him he added at the end of the General Editor's Introduction, 'not quite the pioneer he claims to be'.

Maurice Beresford

## H. G. RAMM (1922-91)

Herman Gabriel Ramm died suddenly on 30 November 1991. He was the Society's twelfth president, holding office from 1979 to 1984, having served as a member of Council from 1962 and as an honorary vice-president since 1984. He was also active in the Roman Antiquities Section, the Aerial Archaeology Committee, being chairman of both, the Library and Inventory Committees. He conscientiously attended most of the lectures during his presidency and seldom missed a meeting of Council.

Herman was born on 9 May 1922 at Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, while his father was a schoolmaster there. His family originated from Norfolk and on his mother's side had as ancestor a French settler in Swedish Pomerania. When his father took up a teaching post in Liverpool, Herman was educated at Liverpool College and University College, Oxford, where he read Greats and belonged to the University Archaeological Society. He served in the Royal Artillery during the Second World War. From 1947 to 1948 he was a tutor in philosophy at St. John's College in the University of Durham but was then appointed an investigator for the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, a post which he held until his retirement in 1982. He was at first stationed in London, working on the inventory of monuments in Dorset, sometimes cycling down to Dorchester to start a week's work, and taking part in the training excavations for the archaeological staff organised by Sir Mortimer Wheeler.

In 1950 Herman was transferred to the office recently opened at York, working successively on the inventory of Roman remains in the city, on sites in Northern England threatened by development or on marginal land, as on Spadeadam Rocket Testing Range or the settlements of Craven being robbed of limestone for rockeries, and, for twelve years, on the earthworks of the East Riding. At first he was the only archaeological investigator at the Commission's York office, but later was assisted successively by Peter Parr, David Dymond, the late Jeffrey Radley and the present writer, who joined him in 1966. Much of his detailed work on the dykes of the Wolds had already been completed, but I still vividly remember not only the time-consuming surveys of the extensive earthworks at Danes Graves, Edlington Wood, Meaux Abbey and Stanwick but also long tramps to check on the many barrows recorded by Mortimer, now sadly eroded, and on a great variety of minor remains scattered in every parish of the East Riding. Other memories are of Herman's painstaking preparatory study of aerial photographs, revealing new cemeteries of Iron Age square barrows, his vigorous driving of the Commission's succession of Land Rovers and lunches in village inns, enlivened by a store of anecdotes. His room in the White House, Clifton, redolent with cigar smoke, was always heaped high with books, files and rolls of maps or survey plans, where he could, however, soon locate a relevant notebook or reference from an apparently untidy pile.

To provide evidence for his official inventory work or to solve problems in Yorkshire archaeology Herman excavated actively: with other RCHM colleagues at Stanwick under the direction of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, at the Roman fort of Newton Kyme, at the derelict church of St. Mary Bishophill Senior in York, and under York Minster. He was detached to direct the excavations there during 1966 and 1967. In the period before he was succeeded by Mr. Derek Phillips he revealed the annexe to the Roman *principia* with its painted wallplaster and explained the site to the Prince of Wales. His award of the O.B.E. in 1972 was recognition of his work in York. In the Minster he also took part in the opening of the tomb of Archbishop Walter de Gray. He was, however, deeply shocked by the tragic death of Jeff Radley in 1970 during an excavation which had exposed the 'Anglian' tower and was continuing to section the defences of York.

Herman's devotion to archaeology led him to spend much time in committee work. Thus he was also active in the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, of which he was elected a life vice-president in 1969, in the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society, for which he had a great affection, being in turn its chairman and president, on the Council of the York Archaeological Trust, in the York Minster Archaeological Advisory Committee, as a Trustee of Malton Museum, and, after his retirement, on the Yorkshire Dales National Park Committee. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1962 and later served on its Council.

Virtually all his published work (listed in the following bibliography) was the result of his official duties for the Royal Commission. *Eburacum, Roman York* (1962) and *The Parisi* (1978) are the most important, but he also made significant contributions to *Newark on Trent The Civil War Siegeworks* (1964) and *Shielings and Bastles* (1970). Articles in this journal and others in *York Historian* and *Archaeologia* range from the Green Dykes and Siward's Howe at Heslington, Roman roads near Tadcaster and the tombs of two archbishops in York Minster. These reflect only a part of his encyclopaedic knowledge of York's Roman past or of the archaeology of the county. Much of his work for the Commission in the East Riding remains confined to its archives and his published articles offered little opportunity to reveal his extensive knowledge of classical literature. His colleagues can testify to his ardent book collecting, which proved something of an embarrassment when his voluminous working library had to be moved from his office and squeezed into his home, already amply provided with reading material.

Herman met Brenda Raley on an archaeological dig while they were undergraduates and they were married in 1949. He was very proud of the grandchildren resulting from the marriages of his children, Edwin, Stephen and Jennifer, in recent years making long journeys to visit them. He described his hobbies as walking, reading, gardening and photography. Many colleagues and friends will remember his generosity in readily sharing his knowledge, lending rare pamphlets, giving them copies of his slides, guiding groups on excursions to historic sites and always being prepared to lecture on a variety of topics. He often went out of his way to encourage young archaeologists. Herman's warm heart matched his massive stature and he will be sadly missed.

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RONALD M. BUTLER

## BOOK REVIEWS

M. Beresford and J. Hurst, *The English Heritage Book of Wharram Percy*, London: B. T. Batsford Ltd. / English Heritage 1990. 25 x 19 cm. 144 pages, 100 illustrations; 13 colour plates. Price £19.95 (hardback); £10.95 (paperback).

"It used to be thought that there were many deserted medieval villages in England, but it is now known that there are only two – Beresford and Hurst." So wrote one muddled university student, admittedly from an institution outside Yorkshire. Instead he should have written "The two most influential scholars in the study of deserted medieval villages are Beresford and Hurst". It is through their pioneering work that the settlement at Wharram Percy has become known throughout Europe and is visited by all who are interested in medieval peasant life. It is for those who study medieval social and economic history through its visual evidence that this book is written.

However this is not a chronological history of settlement at Wharram from prehistory to the present day, nor is it a guide to what the visitor can see at Wharram. Instead this book is the autobiography of an excavation giving the history of an academic exploration, and laying bare the processes which enabled the peasant houses of one deserted Wolds village to be placed in their context both in space and time. It recounts the dialogue between history, using personal documents, and archaeology, using impersonal artefacts, in the search for a fuller understanding of the phases of foundation and desertion. The authors show clearly how each period of investigation opened up new horizons of debate and required new solutions to understand the interaction of man upon the Wolds landscape. They indicate the balance between amateur labour and the increased opportunities for research when official protection of the site was assured.

For those who have not followed the expansion of the Wharram project from the initial task of uncovering a typical peasant house and determining when it was deserted, up to the wider interest in Prehistoric and Roman land use and, equally relevant, the nineteenth-century improved farms and the re-located Wharram High House Farm, this book will be an eye-opener. The illustrations will also gladden the eye: there are attractive colour plates and Chris Dunn's evocative reconstructions; the black-and-white photographs are usually crisp but some show their faded quality. There are also instances of cross-references which have not been changed when new illustrations were added, but misprints are rare. The reading list provides both a historiography of the subject and a guide to specific topics. For all who wish to know how the study of deserted medieval villages has developed and the pivotal role of Wharram Percy in that development this reading list is an excellent guide.

The exploration of Wharram Percy and its stimulus to village studies has not been a story of continuous success; there have been setbacks along the way and two of these are apparent within

this book. It is more than 20 years since the excavations were conducted around the church, but a final report has not yet been produced upon the skeletal material so the comments in this book (p. 65) refer to hoped-for conclusions about the rural population. The work of the Deserted Medieval Village Research Group in recommending a list of sites for official protection was a direct product of the experience at Wharram, but out of the list of the 50 most worthy of protection (p. 52) only Wharram, Gainsthorpe and Hound Tor on Dartmoor are protected within the care of English Heritage (p. 134) and others suffer piecemeal destruction. This is in marked contrast to the attention lavished upon numerous manicured medieval castles and abbeys – the heritage of the establishment.

This book is excellently presented and attractively written, though the joint authorship seems to have curtailed most of the memorable lyrical passages which distinguish Beresford's earlier books. It is then disappointing, though perhaps a sign of the times, that the authors are not named on the spine of the book or of its dust-cover. This seems churlish treatment when without their work at Wharram Percy there would have been no book to be written. What they have meant to Wharram Percy, what their efforts have revealed and publicised, is now abundantly clear. The book that remains to be written is what Wharram Percy has meant to them: the earmarking of three weeks in July for nearly forty years and the union of persons and place in the research team would make equally fascinating reading.

University of York.

*Lawrence Butler.*

Peter Brett, *The Rise and Fall of the York Whig Club 1818-1830*, University of York, Borthwick Paper No. 76, 1989. 32 pages. Price paperback £1.80.

The presence of a number of public houses in York named 'The Punch Bowl' is evidence of the influence that the Whigs once exerted in the City. These advocates of change and reform had adopted the fashionable punch as their tippie leaving the Tories to their well-established sack, claret and canary. Convivial as they may have been at their local meetings, the Whigs in York were to have, for a short time, a more serious purpose on the national stage by leading a movement for Parliamentary reform. On 18 September, 1818, the York Whig Club was formed at Etridge's Hotel in Museum Street. It had the aim of electing members of Parliament who would prevent encroachments on Rights and Liberties and advocate plans of Economy and Reform, free from the corrupting patronage which pervaded the House of Commons – somewhat of a snub to the Whig Lord Fitzwilliam who had in his pocket one of York's two M.P.s. Neither were the Whig-dominated York Corporation members enthusiastic supporters of the new club.

While its constitution called for only two meetings a year as well as an annual dinner, the Whig Club members, in the enthusiastic early years, met 'for the purpose of conversation, discussion and excitement to ardent and manly perseverance in the good cause' – discussion no doubt enlivened by the consumption of much punch. The campaigning successes of the first two years led to the election of a second Whig MP for York. But in the next decade the increasing prosperity of the country diluted the zeal of the reformers, and the Club, at first hoped to be the precursor of a national movement, went into a terminal decline leading to disbandment in 1830. Peter Brett has produced an interesting and detailed analysis of the *Rise and Fall of the York Whig Club* and its leading members from the sources available to him, particularly family papers and the two politically opposed York newspapers. He suggests that the decline of the reform movement in York was a mirror of the national failure in the same years.

*Hugh Murray.*

L. A. S. Butler, ed.. *The archdeaconry of Richmond in the eighteenth century*, Y.A.S. Record Series, Volume CXLVI for the year 1986, 1990, 196 pages, 2 plates, 7 maps. Price £25.

Just over one hundred and forty years ago, I am proud as its present Treasurer to reflect, the Chetham Society brought out one of its most interesting and useful sets of volumes, Gastrell's

'Notitia Cestriensis' – 'Historic Notices of the Diocese of Chester' – edited and with additional notes by Canon F. R. Raines. Only the parishes of the counties of Chester and Lancashire were covered by that edition. In 1906, 'The Cheshire Sheaf' included the material which referred to the Welsh parishes of the see. The portions of Bishop Gastrell's 'Notitia' which refer to Cumberland and Westmorland have never been published, nor had those which cover the Yorkshire parts of the archdeaconry, but, thanks to Dr. Butler, through the medium of the volume which forms the subject-matter of the present review, that deficiency has been remedied, and remedied in a distinguished and scholarly way.

Gastrell's 'Notes' were the means by which he, as a, largely absentee, early-eighteenth century bishop made himself conversant with the character, resources and particular idiosyncrasies of the parishes and chapelries of his diocese. They were compiled during the years 1714-1725, and have much in common with the personal records of their dioceses made slightly earlier in Lincoln by Wake and Carlisle by Nicholson, and somewhat later, in York, by Herring. In assembling the material, Gastrell was able to utilize the findings of his episcopal visitations, and he was also in a position to make use of the enquiries made by his predecessor in office, Nicholas Stratford, bishop of Chester from 1689-1707, which comprised benefice valuations and returns of papists. Further enquiries made in 1723-5 by Gastrell himself into the state of schools and of charities provided additional information. Finally, answers to questions asked in 1724 about the number of townships in the diocese and the methods by which church wardens were elected, completed the overall survey. Gastrell relied heavily on the content of the parochial returns in putting together his notes, but he also had resort to contemporary and historical material held in the registries which were successively located at Richmond (till 1709), Kendal (from that time until 1718) and Lancaster. He supplemented this original material with such relevant published matter as came to hand.

The archdeaconry of Richmond was a part of the diocese of York, until 1540, when it was, rather incongruously, united to the northern-most part of the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, to form the new diocese of Chester. It had been mooted in 1539 that the archdeaconry be constituted a diocese, with Fountains Abbey as its cathedral church, but the idea was shelved, *de jure*, at least. In reality, with its separate forensic and administrative systems and its cognate though not entirely independent jurisdiction, the archdeaconry, comprising the five Western deaneries (of Copeland, Furness, Kendal, Lonsdale and Amounderness) and its three Eastern deaneries (of Richmond, Catterick and Boroughbridge) covered a massive geographical area, at a distant remove from the capital church of the see, and so was able to operate, *de facto*, as a quasi-autonomous unit, a diocese, in all but name and status. The three Eastern deaneries and four parishes of the deanery of Lonsdale were situated in pre-1974 Yorkshire. The liberty of Ripon, within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of York, separated the deaneries of Catterick and Boroughbridge. Despite Whitaker's 'History of Richmond', and one or two, geographically, more restricted histories of particular locations within the overall area, no comprehensive account of the archdeaconry, throughout the whole of its existence has been published. Dr. John Addy's numerous pioneering, though necessarily episodic, vignettes of one or other aspect of the administrative and social life of the area are available and have become an indispensable starting point for those interested in the ecclesiastical history of the archdeaconry and, recently, those concerned with its architectural features will have been delighted with Jane Hatcher's 'Richmondshire Architecture' (Hatcher, Richmond, 1990). The present reviewer hopes, before too long, to make a small contribution to the growing stock of information by producing a study of the legal system controlling the care of fabric and furnishings of the churches throughout the archdeaconry. Dr. Butler's thorough and illuminating notes on 'Gastrell', which not only explain, but also sensitively amplify the original text, put us doubly in his debt, as both making accessible an extremely valuable eighteenth century source and available his own knowledge and perceptions to augment, without distorting, the original. Mr. Connor, of Leeds City Archives, is to be congratulated for his percipience in drawing Gastrell's work to Dr. Butler's attention. We now have conveniently available, what is, a veritable mine of information; Gastrell's own basic contribution being supplemented by Dr. Butler's lists of clergy (1714-1725), and appendices comprising material from visitations and a brief survey of the Liberty of Ripon (the latter not a concern of Gastrell, as being outside his jurisdiction as bishop). A further bonus for those unacquainted with its objects are accounts of the careers of the bishop himself and of Dr.

Stratford, sometime archdeacon and commissary of the archdeaconry.

In the nature of things, this volume (in common with all academic publications by reason of their very nature, purpose and assumed readership) is quite costly enough to cause any possible purchaser to pause before actually buying it. This reviewer would unhesitatingly wish to commend the waverer to forget any qualms he or she may have, and to do so in the sure knowledge that the money would be well spent.

Bridge Street Chambers, Manchester.

*John Holden.*

Peter Halkon (editor), *New Light on the Parisi: Recent discoveries in Iron Age and Roman East Yorkshire*, East Riding Archaeological Society and University of Hull School of Adult and Continuing Education, 1989, pp. iv and 40, 5 phot. in text and 15 figs., £2.

This little book presents an admirable summary of a decade of work done on both iron-age and Roman sites in the East Riding since 1978 when my book on the Parisi was published. The papers were read at a day conference in Hull University in 1989 with which the publication of this book was associated. Perhaps the key article is that by Peter Halkon himself on the work that he initiated in the Holme on Spalding Moor area. Although hints in the form of pottery kilns excavated at Throlam (1930) and Hasholme (1970-1) had indicated that there were some possibilities it required considerable perspicacity as well as a local interest in the area to choose the rather waterlogged valley of the Foulness as the subject for a landscape archaeology project begun in 1980. From 1983 fieldwalking was combined with a programme of research excavations conducted by a team from Durham University led by Martin Millet. Both projects were assisted by volunteers from E.R.A.S. The results, briefly described in Peter Halkon's article, have been remarkable, tracing the history of settlement through both periods, examining its economic base in both agriculture and industry (iron working and pottery manufacture), and demonstrating the importance of the intricate creek system for trade. The newly discovered small town at Shiptonthorpe, briefly touched on in Martin Millet's "overview", lies at the head of this creek system where it is crossed by the Roman road. The small port at Faxfleet at the mouth of the tidal inlet of the Humber into which the creek system once led, excavated by John Bartlett in 1967, is reassessed here by Bryan Sitch. Both these sites illustrate the importance of this water system in the Roman period. The remarkable Hasholme boat recovered with its last cargo of meat and timber by Halkon and Millet shows its iron-age use. Halkon asks whether control of this creek system and its trade did not lie behind the wealth and prestige of the Celtic warrior aristocracy buried at Arras near Market Weighton. In the first paper in this book Ian Stead, the interpreter of the Arras culture, describes the two latest excavations of cart burials at Garton Station and Kirkburn. John Dent reports an iron-age site at North Cave and the excavation of the last remnant of the quarried-away villa at Brantingham, where the development from iron-age farm to villa is traced through a succession of increasingly sophisticated buildings. Other essays discuss the well-known site at Redcliffe, and iron-age and Roman sites in and around Hull in relation to former Humber inlets. Ben Whitwell looks at the end of the Roman period.

All this is very much Humberside archaeology, not in the sense of the county in which it happens, nor because of the involvement of the Humberside unit, but because of the part played by the history of the river, its inlets, tributaries and ancient shore lines, in the background of all the papers but Dr. Stead's. As a result we are given a new and rather more work-a-day picture of the region and period than that derived from the traditional Wolds archaeology.

*Herman Ramm*

David S. Hall, *Bellerby, a Dalesend Village*, Unicorn Projects, Bainbridge, 1989, 98 pages, incl. 18 drawings and plans, 4 maps and 15 illustrations incl. photographs.

This is an attractively produced village history with clear plans and some fascinating photographs. In 98 pages it covers the history of the township of Bellerby which lies between Wensleydale and Swaledale in North Yorkshire from prehistoric times until the twentieth-

century. It has the outstanding advantage over most village histories of its type and size in that the author has provided a comprehensive list of sources and a good index. The picture that comes across is of a well loved local community whose inhabitants were prepared to contribute their time and enthusiasm, documents and photographs and their local knowledge to enrich the documentary sources. They have mapped the ridge and furrow of the old open fields, and many of the old furlong names, a very useful contribution to both the history of Bellerby and of medieval field systems. The detailed recording of house plans is likely to be of help to those interested in vernacular architecture and the good references to inventories, to school and chapel records are likely to be helpful to those who want to compare a number of communities as well as delighting those who live in the township now and in the future.

Looking at it as an outsider there were a few points where I would have welcomed further help. I could not find a mention of the wapentake in which Bellerby lay. Perhaps the answer is too obvious. I wish a sketch map could have shown the village in relationship to the Ure and Swale and the turnpike which the book assures us by-passes the village. I would have also found it helpful if the original spelling of field names from old documents had been in italics to distinguish them from ones that have survived into living memory. There is however an excellent sketch map of the township showing old boundary marks and the position of many of the place names.

It would have been helpful to know how typical Bellerby was in its immediate area at the times in history when figures for adjoining townships do survive. Had it more or less waste in 1086. Did it suffer more or less from the Scots and the Black Death in the fourteenth-century. Do any subsidy lists or muster rolls survive from the sixteenth-century and was the township entirely unaffected by rebellions and civil war? The use of wills and inventories to illustrate the homes and occupations is excellent and the chapters on church, chapel, school and community record a lot of useful detail which should fascinate locals along with the all important references. It might also have been helpful for comparative purposes to have recorded some of the census material in table form and to have brought it up to date. I enjoyed this book and hope that Unicorn Projects manages to produce some more works of this quality.

*Jennifer Kaner.*

J. R. Perrin, *Roman Pottery from the Colonia 2: General Accident and Rougier Street*, The Archaeology of York, The Pottery 16/4, 1990, pp. 133, pls. 8, text figs. 48. ISBN 0906780 88 8. £15.00

This monograph reports on pottery from two unpublished excavations. It consists of a site summary (without location map to relate it to the Roman topography), examination of the pottery for each site by period with a breakdown of the vessels by ware and form, an overall summary and comments on each ware, the samian report, type series of coarse wares by fabric, concluding with the mortaria, useful concordances and finally a major section on amphorae by Dr. D. F. Williams, including other unpublished sites.

Seventy-nine percent of the pottery, based on count, came from the General Accident site, of which 84% spanned the mid-late 2nd and late 2nd-early 3rd century periods; a similar range is covered by 79% from Rougier Street. The later Roman period is therefore barely represented by stratified deposits. Pottery from post-Roman contexts, likely to contain a range of late pottery, was excluded from quantification, although a few selected vessels are illustrated.

The importance of pottery due to the paucity of coins and other datable finds is emphasized; the chronological framework is based on samian and mortaria. Presentation by type series does not aid checking this framework, and it is worrying that Periods 3 and 7 at the GA site contain mortaria dated later than the overall period does.

The unusual quantification used suggests that the report was prepared some years ago. Three measures in general use (count, weight, EVEs) were employed but data in print is confined largely to 'minimum number of vessels', although how these are calculated is not stated; the other measures unfortunately appear in microfiche. Since the main use of quantified figures is comparison with other sites, it is regrettable that the seriographs detailing wares for each period depend upon a measure (EVEs) better suited to the examination of forms. The minimum vessels

count is a difficult measure to use comparatively, as no two recorders can be guaranteed to agree. Recourse to microfiche is necessary to compare the quantity of the late 2nd-3rd century pottery with that in the previous report (AY 16/2), quantified by count alone, and a similar problem arises with comparisons from outside York.

Samian, mortaria and amphorae are excluded from all the overall breakdowns of period assemblages. Minimum vessel counts of mortaria by source and period are presented (further data in microfiche). Amphorae are detailed by type/source for each site, undifferentiated for period, and quantified by weight and count. It would be possible, however, to examine the incidence of amphorae by period based on count detailed in the catalogue.

The lack of integration of samian is a familiar but unacceptable feature of reports. The percentages of bowls in Ebor fabric can be assessed for each period, but not samian bowls, and neither can the two be inter-related. Samian accounts for 22% of the monograph and yet there is no information on how much samian, from what source, of what form, came from each period of each site. Decorated and stamped vessels are fully reported, but the plain vessels, the bulk of the finds, are covered by short notes without indication of quantity even of vessel forms. This demonstrates the almost total separation of samian from site and other pottery. The evidence of the samian from these sites cannot be fully used.

There is a curious emphasis on colour over and above other information in the catalogue, extending even to the definition of trituration grits on mortaria. Stamped parisian ware illustrated at 1:4, although Plate XIXa shows them at 1:1. The mortarium stamps lack an illustration of VITALIS, and are 1:2 and not 1:1 as stated. Amphorae stamps and graffiti are reported but, unhelpfully for such studies, are not illustrated.

This report contributes a considerable amount of new evidence for the mid 2nd to early 3rd centuries, building on that from the previous report (AY 16/2), aiding the assessment of the local Eboracum wares, and adding new sources of supply. The long time intervening between work on the pottery and publication is always unfortunate for the author, as ideas on processing and presentation, particularly for urban sites, have changed in the interval. The disturbed deposits at these sites preclude more definite conclusions, and are perhaps of arguable stratigraphic value for such detailed publication. The splendid face pots are well illustrated and discussed, and there is much of interest in both the range of vessels, which significantly extend the known types, and in the valuable discussions.

Margaret J. Darling

J. D. Richards, C. Heighway and S. Donaghey, *Union Terrace: Excavations in the Horsefair*, Vol. 11, fasc. 1. of *The Archaeology of York* (London, 1989). pp. 40, figs 21, pls 16, fiches 1. £9.

This fascicule records the excavation by the York Archaeological Trust of five areas at the southern end of Union Terrace, York, during 1972. Documentary evidence suggested that the area had three major changes of occupation from the thirteenth century: from before 1253 to 1293 by the Carmelite Friars; from 1314 to 1556 initially as a chantry chapel, then as St. Mary's Hospital; and from 1557 to the mid-seventeenth century as St. Peter's Grammar School. Time only allowed the twelfth/thirteenth-century levels to be reached. The introduction describes the circumstances of the excavation. Six main phases of archaeological activity are then outlined in chronological order, dating from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century. These are followed by a brief report by Stephen Coll on the medieval phases recovered from excavations in the gardens of 31-37 Gillygate in 1972. The reviewer is unable to comment on the content of the microfiche as he was unable to find a handy reader.

Each of the six phases has the evidence presented, discussed linked to the documents and, for the phases concerning St. Mary's Hospital, to similar sites further afield. Those relating to the hospital are perhaps the most important, for until recently medieval urban hospitals have been studied mainly either from often misleading standing buildings or from documentary evidence. Yorkshire is perhaps fortunate in this respect, for major advances in both fields have recently been made, with Peter Cardwell's excavation of the rural hospital of St. Giles, Brompton-on-Swale (*CBA Forum* 1990 (1991), 3-7) and Patricia Cullum's documentary work on urban hospitals

(P. H. Cullum, 'Hospitals and charitable provision in medieval Yorkshire, 936-1547', University of York D.Phil. thesis (1989) and *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages*, Borthwick Paper No. 79 (1991)). The results from St. Mary's can be added to this growing picture of what such hospitals looked like and how they functioned.

The book has all the disadvantages of fascicule publication backed up by microfiche. The absence of context numbers from the text (left out deliberately for clarity) makes it difficult to cross refer between text, plans and sections. The philosophy of explaining the archaeological content of holes in the ground, rather than attempting to interpret the archaeology of an ever changing historic landscape (especially an urban one) through arbitrary holes cut through it, makes this volume very difficult to use. This is illustrated clearly by the St. Mary's Hospital phases: the layout of a medieval urban hospital is tolerably understood, yet no attempt has been made to suggest visually the evidence from Sites 1 and 2 within the *curia*, or precinct, of the hospital, whose early bounds and later development appear to be known from the documents. The features on Site 2 are presented as belonging to the hospital garden (Phase 4), although no evidence is offered for this, in spite of the caption to Pl. XIII A. It would have been useful to know more about what was found on Site 2, for, although medieval garden structures are well documented, they have rarely been recognised by archaeologists.

The excavation text makes some use of the finds for interpreting and explaining the functions of buildings excavated, shown with particular effect on the distribution of window glass and lead comes from the Phase 5 buildings (p. 31, Fig. 20). The pottery does not appear to have been so used. This is sad, for our understanding of the use of pottery for site interpretation has recently made some major advances. The text suggests well stratified undisturbed deposits, in which archaeological assemblages are likely to be contemporary. It is worrying that the pottery has been used to reassess the chronology of the site (p. 3), for the Trust's analyses of medieval pottery have mostly been carried out in isolation from work elsewhere in Yorkshire whence much of the York material originated. The techniques used to analyse and define the material are suspect and do not address the functional aspects of pottery, which might well have been helpful on this site. The analysis of ceramic finds as site assemblages for interpretative purposes would be difficult because of the Trust's procedure of post-excavation work.

If finds are to be used effectively for site interpretation they have to be recovered with this in mind, and followed by post-excavation procedures which allow it to happen. The Trust is not alone in separating finds at source and treating them as purely art-historical objects, using them primarily for dating, a function for which pottery is at the moment at its least unreliable. These difficulties may be overcome in the final fascicule of each volume, where finds can be used in their functional sense, and the excavated evidence interpreted in its historic setting, an approach which may already be planned in the fascicule series. For those unfamiliar with the plan of publication, it may be helpful to put an explanatory note on the inside of each cover.

One frustrating feature is that the authors assume a detailed knowledge of the geography of the modern city of York. It would have been helpful to have had an inset outline location of Fig. 2 shown on Fig. 1. Property in the text is often located by modern street names, yet the detailed plans of the city (Figs 1 and 11) do not give them. The volume is, however, handsomely presented with clear line drawings and plates.

S. Moorhouse

Ian Roberts, *Pontefract Castle*, West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, Wakefield 1990; pp. 76; pls 45; figs 46. £3 + 85p. p. & p.

Pontefract Castle was one of the strongest medieval fortresses in England. Built by the De Lacy barons and the head of their honour, it was in the hands of the earls and dukes of Lancaster from 1311, but was demolished in 1649 by order of Parliament after the third siege of a stubborn Royalist garrison there. This book is fully and clearly illustrated, containing a thorough account of the castle's history from its foundation in the late eleventh century to its final destruction, with 14 pages devoted to the excavations of 1982-6. Every source of importance is discussed and the illustrations, both fifteenth and seventeenth-century are reproduced. Perhaps there should have been a mention of its surrender by Lord Darcy to the Pilgrimage of Grace, rather than just an

intriguing reference to a survey by Darcy. In this attractive and handsomely produced guide the visitor should have everything he will want to know about the castle, from the varying names of its towers and the coins minted by the Royalist garrisons to ways of reaching it from the bus and railway stations. If preserved in its seventeenth-century condition, this great castle would have been as impressive as Arundel, Alnwick or Windsor, dominated by a lofty keep. As this useful work reveals, its demolition has deprived West Yorkshire of one of its most splendid medieval buildings.

R.M. Butler

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Houses of the North York Moors*, H.M.S.O. 1987. ISBN 0 11 300014 6; pp. 256, figs 435. £19.95.

The Lancashire and Yorkshire Pennines have been well served since 1985 by the RCHM (England) with the publication of their Supplementary Series. The most recent book in the series was written by D. W. Black, Dr. I. H. Goodall, I. R. Pattison and Dr. R. M. Butler of the Commission's York staff. This handsome volume covers a range of buildings surviving up to the publication of the first 6 in. Ordnance Survey maps surveyed between 1848 and 1854. It covers a period similar to *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire* by Colum Giles but its scope is wider, including houses of the gentry, clergy, magistrates and merchants, town houses, shops and farm houses with their related buildings. Thus its structure is different from the earlier volumes and far more comprehensive. Sarah Pearson's *Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines* took little account of the architectural changes to the houses of East Lancashire and Colum Giles's work is only marginally concerned with the attendant buildings such as barns, byres and stables, even though these were often integral with the farmhouses. In this respect *Houses of the North York Moors* presents a more complete picture by relating the houses to their immediate environment and dependent structures. On the other hand it lacks a gazetteer, omitted 'for lack of space', though a *Selective Inventory* has subsequently been published (1989), which repeats the bibliography with some minor corrections.

The area covered is predominantly rural but there is a substantial chapter on town houses. Towns identified by having early market charters include Helmsley, Pickering and Kirkbymoorside, with the first two having substantial castles to emphasise their importance. The authors discuss the origins and development of these towns, for which the plans from the 1856 OS maps are reproduced. Types of buildings are identified and discussed, starting appropriately with market halls, followed by shops. In the latter case the authors have avoided the ambiguity of the term and tried to distinguish between commercial (retail) shops and work shops. Inventories and surveys often refer to 'shops' without qualification but here by a study of the plans of selected examples the authors have sought clarification with some success. They also discuss lock-up shops and draw attention to possible changes to the interior planning and the restrictions imposed by the burgage plots. The material is well supported by documentary sources and, where there is doubt over interpretation, a brief but pertinent discussion clarifies the point (e.g. p. 124, 15-17 Birdgate, Pickering). The historical survey of shops presented here adds greatly to the understanding of these important buildings.

In a rural region it is not surprising to find that the basic townhouse is a development from the longhouse. In a thorough study of its evolution from the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century the authors provide a series of examples illustrating the changing function of the longhouse, with new uses for the former byre-end, including a bakehouse, kitchen or separate cottages. Terrace housing is addressed by pertinent questions of finance and the extent of land ownership. Early terraces were probably small-scale speculations, while investment in larger terraces came late in the nineteenth century, for example by the Duncombe Estate on High Street and Bondgate, Helmsley.

A new source of evidence for transient accommodation in the towns is in the army lists of beds and stabling available in inns and alehouses. In the list for 1686 Helmsley is credited with having 60 beds, with 33 in Kirkbymoorside and 16 in Pickering, suggesting Helmsley's greater importance as a staging post, whereas Pickering and Kirkbymoorside catered for a local clientele attending their markets.

In rural buildings the development of the ubiquitous longhouse is traced through the linear plan farmhouse to the centralised and double-pile plans. This is achieved by means of well chosen examples, all with clear and informative plans showing, by different hatching, extensions and alterations made to keep the houses functioning effectively without rebuilding, as standards of living changed. A whole chapter is given to farm buildings, starting with an informative historical introduction and followed by a section on their layout from the linear arrangement, seen as a development of the longhouse tradition, to the courtyard plan, all illustrated with clear diagrams. The ancillary buildings find an equally important place here with attention given to barns, horse-engine houses, hayhouses, granaries, stables, smithies and dovecotes. Watermills are given a generous section with informative plans and illustrations of their layout and typology.

The final chapter on 'Structure and Fittings' usefully relates cruck construction in North Yorkshire to other areas of cruck traditions but does not, however, draw attention to a particular feature, whereby the tie-beam of a cruck truss also serves as a bressumer for the inglenook. Examples of this are at Spout House, Bilsdale, and Stang End, now at the Ryedale Folk Museum. From the tie-beam / inglenook bressumer the firehood slopes back to the chimney flue and stack, in which case a reredos stone wall backs the inglenook and forms a structural division and one side of the cross passage. How widely was this construction used? At least one example survives in Lancashire at Scotch Green Farm, Inglewhite (SD 541405). Is this a case of a tradition being introduced from the North York Moors? The statement on p. 218 on the incidence of 'witch posts' needs qualifying. In Rossendale, Lancashire, there are at least five examples, all showing the single saltire above a series of bands or flutings, and one is dated 1695. A notable structural feature is illustrated in fig. 20, where the ground-floor vaulting at Ayton Castle springs from the gable wall to the internal partition wall, across the axis of the building. This is an unusual arrangement, but no explanation for it is given. Errors and discrepancies occur, but are few.

This book provides insight, appreciation and evaluation of a variety of buildings that will greatly extend understanding of buildings elsewhere. It covers building at all levels and the text and discussions are clear and well documented. The photographs (by T. E. Buchanan) are technically excellent and give much information to supplement the text. The plans and diagrams are also a revelation, for they show the sequence of building and / or alterations, a feature sadly lacking in earlier volumes in this series. The authors and all concerned are to be congratulated on the excellence of their work.

*Middleton, Manchester.*

*W. John Smith*

Christopher Wilson (ed), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1983, 1989; pp. 194, pls. 35. ISBN hardback 0-901286-23-0, £32; paperback 0-901286-22-2, £25.

This exceptionally interesting collection of studies on East Yorkshire contains twelve papers presented at the 1983 conference of the British Archaeological Association held at Cottingham. There are contributions on different aspects of Beverley Minster and its architecture (by Richard Morris and Eric Cambridge, David O'Connor, Nicholas Dawson, R. B. Dobson and Christa Grössinger); on Bridlington Priory (by Malcolm Thurlby and Jill Franklin), on the churches at Howden and Patrington (Nicola Coldstream and John Maddison), and on pre-conquest sculpture, sepulchral monuments, and monumental brasses (by James Lang, Brian and Moira Gittos and Sally Badham). The collection shows the wealth of medieval material available in East Yorkshire, much of it too little known: as two of the authors remark, there has been little written on Beverley Minster, the neglect of St. Peter's Howden is inexplicable, and existing architectural accounts of Patrington are both erroneous and confusing.

The probable plan of the 12th-century priory at Bridlington is illuminated by Jill Franklin, and Malcolm Thurlby gives a more precise date for the Romanesque cloister arcade and sculpture there, supported by a wealth of evidence from other works in the North of England. These two papers should be read together; a criticism of the volume, here and elsewhere, is that the authors do not seem always to have collated their findings. Thurlby writes that Robert the Scribe must have been dead by 1159; Franklin that Robert probably died soon after 1160 (pp. 33, 52). Similar

contradictions occur in the identification of one of the St. Quintin brasses at Harpham (John or Thomas? 1397 or 1398? pp. 99, 171, pl. XXXIA), and in the only hogback in East Yorkshire, at Barmston, of which Lang writes 'there is the remote possibility that it arrived in...Barmston because of the zeal of the Rev. Mr. William Dade' (pp. 2-3), while Brian and Moira Gittos are sure that 'as J. Lang has pointed out, it is not indigenous to the Riding, having been collected from Lythe (North Riding)' (p. 92). These contradictions might have been removed by the addition of an index, which would also have led to standardisation of names and men (Archbishop Greenfield, Grenelfield, for instance), and places (Aldbrough, East Yorkshire, not Aldborough: Wilberfoss not Wilberfosse). An index would have also helped track interesting comments on places such as Welwick, Kirkdale, and a number of Lincolnshire churches.

Let not this cavilling deter scholars from acquiring this volume (probably through Oxbow Books, St Cross Road, Oxford, as British Archaeological Association volumes are not easily found), for it contains much new and interesting material. The article by Morris and Cambridge sets out with admirable lucidity the early (pre-Conquest) history of Beverley Minster: an appendix by Ian Doyle describes fully, for the first time, a Beverley cartulary of c.1400 recently acquired by the British Museum from the estate of H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence: Dobson suggests that this is the earliest Beverley cartulary to have survived. The masterly article by David O'Connor on the medieval stained glass of Beverley Minster uses Dugdale's notes of 1641 on the lost heraldic glass of the great west window to demonstrate that the glass depicted the arms of Richard II, and also those of Thomas Arundel (archbishop of York from 1388): the combination forces belief that the west window must have been glazed after 1388 and before Richard's deposition in 1399, and therefore the building of the west front, always assigned to the 15th century, must have been completed in the late 14th century.

Brian and Moira Gittos, who spent many years surveying pre-1500 sepulchral monuments in the East Riding, contribute a chronological account of monuments, with some interesting quantification of the respective numbers of different types: this article is well-paired by Sally Badham's discussion of monumental brasses made in York in the 14th and 15th centuries. Nicholas Dawton returns to the topic of the Percy tomb in Beverley Minster, and suggests the carving was carried out by a workshop of five sculptors, whose separate work he identifies. Christa Grössinger's article on the misericords of Beverley Minster persuades the reader to return to study details, too easily overlooked in the dark and confined spaces of the choir: details such as the shepherd patting his dog in the sheep-shearing carving, for it is interesting to learn that, although many of the scenes have a common origin, 'in the Beverley misericords the relationship between man and his animals is shown as being closer and more affectionate than in any other misericords or prints.' (p. 189).

R. B. Dobson's article on 'Beverley in Conflict: Archbishop Alexander Neville and the Minster Clergy', deals with, among other archiepiscopal difficulties, the 1381 strike of Minster clergy. The article, which might appear from its title to be detached from the mainly architectural contributions, meshes with them exceptionally well, by its demonstration of clerical wealth, patronage and political power in medieval East Yorkshire, which in many cases underpinned its exceptional artistic achievement.

*Barbara English*

Jan Crowther, *Beverley in Mid-Victorian Times*. Hutton Press, Cherry Burton, 1990, 135 pages. Price £6.50.

This book presents the research of a local history class into day-to-day life in nineteenth-century Beverley. Though attention is focussed on the years between 1850 and 1870 there are backward glances also, particularly to the eighteen-thirties and eighteen-forties, as well as some reference to events after 1870.

By mid century Beverley had become much the largest, as it was also the most fashionable, of a group of small country towns that had long served the agricultural districts of the East Riding. During the years covered by this account the town's population grew steadily, though hardly dramatically, to more than 10,000 in 1871. At the same time railways began to affect the physical

fabric and economy of the town, creating opportunities for some of its residents and unwelcome change for others. There was much discussion of public health, electoral scandals that attracted attention nationally and the early days of Beverley's principal newspapers, the one Liberal, the other Conservative. Much of the information for this book has been gleaned from their files, though the author and her class have made use of other sources as well. Most aspects of life in the town come under scrutiny.

It is impossible to read this book without wondering how far the corporate daily life depicted in its pages, and by extension the experience of Beverley as a whole, might have differed from that of other country towns of about the same size. Such questions do indeed surface from time to time in the text but in the absence of comparable information they are not always answered convincingly. The otherwise helpful bibliography shows a similar reluctance to encourage a wider view of things. Urban historians will find in this book a rich quarry, but it is likely to appeal particularly to those who know the town and something of its history already. They will enjoy its wealth of detail and numerous well-chosen illustrations. For their part, the author and her co-workers may rightly derive satisfaction from seeing a worthwhile scheme brought to fruition in this way.

Beverley.

A. Harris.

P. R. Wilson (ed.), *Crambeck Roman Pottery Industry*. Yorkshire Archaeological Society Roman Antiquities Section 1989; pp. 197.

This slim volume, a collection of ten papers on fieldwork and research, is divided into three parts. Philip Corder's excavation reports on six kilns, originally published in 1928 and 1937, are central both to Part 1 and to the volume. Recent scientific excavations of the site and its pottery, mainly by Jeremy Evans, comprise Part 2. The final part is brief and concerns another likely production area, investigated in the 1960s.

The contributions by Corder and Evans complement each other and demonstrate how ceramic studies have evolved in the past 60 years. Philip Corder's 1928 report was a pioneer study and remains essential to anyone dealing with Roman pottery from northern Britain because it is methodical, readable and, above all, well illustrated. Tentative conclusions from the limited dating evidence were that production began at Crambeck in the late third or early fourth century and may not have survived the disturbances of *c.*A.D. 370. The 1937 paper provided an opportunity to apply information which had accrued in the intervening years, including finds from the well at Langton Villa and new data from the northern frontier. Margaret Birley's work on the distribution of Crambeck products established its significance as a major late Roman pottery supplying northern Britain.

Jeremy Evans's paper is firmly rooted in more recent attitudes when hi-tech chemical analysis of fabrics was seen as the answer to provenance studies and the comparison of quantified assemblages would solve problems of chronology and socio-economic interpretation. The first section presents the results of the Neutron Activation Analysis of about 80 sherds of parchment, grey and red wares, while the remaining section is devoted to 'The distribution and marketing of Crambeck fabrics'.

Given the standardisation of Crambeck, Crambe and Cold Cam grey wares, the most unexpected result was that four of the seven grey wares sampled from Huntcliff signal station did not belong to the Crambeck main group, while two others were dubious. Unfortunately the comparative material from markets, as opposed to distribution sites, is limited and sporadic. Evans's explanation, that the non-standard group represented a short-lived experiment with a different recipe, is likely, but the results could also indicate another hitherto undetected production centre.

One of Evans's major conclusions is that the distribution of Crambeck ware is unique among large-scale late Romano-British industries. They retain a greater share of more distant markets than the model for 'a feasible free market system' predicts. Something must have been manipulating the market in favour of Crambeck; Evans opts for bulk buying by military contractors, an attractive concept but one scarcely supported by the assemblage size from the two most distant markets included in the quantification. The 18 rims from Old Penrith and the 48

from Poltross Burn in neither case approach a single pack-horse load, estimated to be 2-3 cwts, never mind systematic supply over a long period. The widespread distribution of Crambeck products may even have been the result of the unloading of one large consignment of pots onto the market at a cut price. This could represent the ultimate free market options – either undermining price stability to break into new and more distant markets, or disposing of over production when the natural market area was stagnant or diminishing.

Although the Dee-Humber line is proposed as the southern boundary of the main Crambeck distribution, more assemblages of the ware may await discovery south of the Humber. Sporadic finds of vessels from East Yorkshire potters occur in East Anglia.

The results of this research are stimulating but incomplete. The problems of the clay sources require more analysis and the quantification methods need further refining. Members of the Y.A.S. are to be congratulated for their initiative in producing this useful volume which hopefully will be followed by other studies.

*Valery Rigby*

Glynn Coppack, *English Heritage Book of Abbeys and Priories*, 159 pp. 104 ill. 11 colour plates. Batsford. 1990. £12.95.

Dr. Coppack presents here a view of monasticism based largely on archaeological discoveries. Many of his examples are drawn from his own projects, and as these have been focussed mainly in Yorkshire there is much of interest to the local reader. Fountains, Mount Grace, Byland, Rievaulx, Kirkstall, Jervaulx, Kirkham and Whitby all loom large, and Wilberfoss Nunnery is used as the benchmark for documentary study.

An introductory chapter charts the progress of monastic studies, with two Riponians, John Martin in 1790 and John Richard Walbran in the 1840s-50s, blazing trails. Next come separate chapters on the church, the cloister, sanitation, and the precinct – of these, the two latter are particularly informative, giving ready access to a large quantity of recently acquired yet reasonably digested data. The final chapter explores post-dissolution transformations.

The text would benefit from small-scale expansion in several directions. For example, while the importance of a developing liturgy in the 12th-16th centuries is frequently referred to as a stimulus for replanning (e.g. p. 38), the pattern of those liturgical changes is not even briefly summarised. Again, in the Wilberfoss inventory we are presented with a *gyle* room (p. 66), but the term is never explained, and the average reader will not know that this is a brewhouse. In this secular age, is the spiritual significance of the laver so apparent not to require comment within text (pp. 72, 82) or glossary? Am I the only reader left wondering what a bolting hutch is (p. 108)? And it remains a mystery where in the country some of these splendid remains are to be seen – few lavers are as fine as that at Southwick, we are told (p. 72), but there is never a hint of where Southwick is.

Various points of presentation, largely outside the author's control, are also less than satisfactory. The copious illustrations include some very fine drawings, but the erratic scale of plan drawings, their placing sometimes across facing pages so as to obscure important detail (e.g. pp. 110-111), and the absence of scales (fig. 53) or conventions (fig. 26) all raise problems. Elsewhere, as in the explanation of the guest house wing at Mount Grace (p. 108) there is a need for a more detailed series of accompanying drawings than that provided. The captioning, too, leaves much to be desired, and in particular those to some of the colour plates omit rather obvious information. Worst of all is the positioning of illustrations in relation to text, a feat of massive incompetence.

In sum, this will be a useful source of information for students and teachers alike, and should make a large audience aware of some of the novel and less obvious aspects of monastic archaeology. More attention to satisfying the reader who is a monastic archaeology novice, and more editorial care over points of presentation, as noted above, would have increased its user-friendliness and lessened the frustrations which this reader experienced.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R.M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A. 9, St Mark's Grove, Rawcliffe, York YO3 6TS, from whom list of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors

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